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DO WOMEN VOTE?

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Denver, Colorado

THE arguments against equal suffrage are slowly giving way before its triumphant onward march. Perhaps the most ancient of them, which is still in good and regular standing, is the hoary statement that women will not vote, or if they do, at first, as soon as the novelty of the new toy wears off, they will cease to take an interest in political affairs.

Wyoming is merely a green spot far away on the map of the United States to most people, with so few people within its borders that nothing they did would matter much, one way or another. But Colorado has close to a million people, and the women have had the ballot for twenty-one years,—long enough for a whole generation to reach their majority, so it should be possible to come to a pretty accurate estimate from the facts and figures in that state as to the relative vote of men and women.

When you ask the militant suffragist whether Colorado women vote, she replies with an unhesitant affirmative. She says, quite truly, that practically all the women she knows vote. She says she has taken pains to go into other precincts than her own, and she finds women voting as generally as men. The anti-suffragist, and she exists even in Colorado, insists on the other hand that her women friends hardly ever vote, and probably they don't. The "unprejudiced observer" of the workings of suffrage from a car window of the limited express, halts at a polling place at 7.30 A. M.—the polls being open from 7 A. M. to 7 P. M.—and straightway writes it down in his trusty note-book that not a woman was visible. If he happens to be making his return trip about 3 P. M. he finds that men show little interest in the franchise, and the polls appear to be in the hands of the women. Sometimes he infers that the majestic male refuses to take half a loaf, since the other half has been given to his partner and has ceased voting, and now and then he takes a photograph

[1] Mrs. Meredith was elected to the office of election commissioner in May, 1910, and is now president of the commission.

of a proud and happy old lady with her hand on the arm that never has failed her, making her way into the polling place.

Several times since the enfranchisement of women in Colorado, November, 1893, returns have been secured from the various counties of the state, showing the proportion of votes cast by women. This ranged from fifty-two per cent in El Paso county down to thirty-seven per cent in Huerfano county. El Paso county contains rich and aristocratic Colorado Springs, Colorado College, the state school for the deaf and blind and that pillar of fire of the antis, Mrs. Elizabeth Cass Goddard. The latter section, as its name implies (orphan) needs mothering; the only parent it possesses is the Colorado fuel and iron company; many of its residents are foreigners and its population is largely fleeting.

In order to make a comparison of the number of men and women voting, it is necessary to explain something about the conduct of elections in Denver, the scope of this article not extending beyond that city. To be eligible to vote, the elector must have lived in the state a year, the county ninety days and the precinct ten days, be an American citizen and be registered. The judges sit as a board of registration on the third and fourth Thursdays before election day and the voter may repair thither and register himself and his entire family, including servants; or, he may register not to exceed three lodgers. In either case he must be known to the judges of the election, and make oath as to the qualifications of each person registered by him. Every person failing to vote at any regular election has his name stricken from the lists. Persons voting are retained on the registration books, and their names copied into the new books furnished the judges before the next registration day. Changes of registration may be made at the office of the election commission up to ten days before election, but no new registrations except before the state primary election. Names are not stricken after special elections which occur in Denver about as regularly as the regular kind. Since the regular election of May, 1910, there have been two regular city elections, one primary and one state election and three special elections. The adoption of the preferential system of voting in city elections abolished the primary so far as Denver is concerned, since it does away with parties and every voter has to stand—and most of them did stand—or run on his own merits. Under the preferential system one may vote for a first and a second choice; on the third choice he may vote for as many as he pleases, the object being to make it possible to combine the field against some undesirable candidate. But one election has been held involving this new plan of voting, and so far it is still on trial with opinion divided as to its success. Probably all election officials would join with the professional politician in denouncing it roundly, for it certainly increases the difficulties of counting very materially.

There are three judges and two clerks in each election precinct, and of

the 540 judges at the special election held February 14, 1914, 267 were women. There is no rule about this, and the number fluctuates from one election to another. In city elections the election commission appoints the judges and in the state and primary elections the appointments are made from lists furnished by the chairman of the political parties having cast the highest and next highest vote. There must not be more than two judges of one political faith in a precinct nor more than one clerk; the number of judges alternates—say two Democrats and one Republican in the odd numbered precincts and two Republicans and one Democrat in the even numbers. Ordinarily the county chairmen draw lots to determine, the advantage being with the odd numbers, there being five districts that have odd numbered precincts, while the remaining twelve are even. For instance, in District O there are seventeen precincts, eight even numbers and nine odd. Voting places are usually in private houses, stores, store-rooms or churches. In several precincts elections are held in the fire stations, and in several others in the basements or guild halls of churches. The small portable house in use in the east in many places is not likely to meet with favor where women act as election officials on account of the absence of toilet facilities, the odor from the kerosene lamps and the necessity to keep up one's own fires. There are precincts where it is difficult to find a place to hold an election, there being nothing but handsome residences whose owners are loth to let them for that purpose. In such places recourse is sometimes had to garages. The requisites of a polling place are space, heat, light and a central location. The small sum paid out, five dollars for each registration day and ten dollars for election day, make an oasis in the desert of a winter of hard times for many a family. The registration can be held in a comparatively small room, since there are seldom many persons to register; fifty during the course of a day is considered a phenomenal number, although it is estimated that thirty per cent of the population of Denver moves every year, necessitating a change of address, which, as I have stated, is done at the office of the election commission.

But now for the vote of the women as compared to that of their brothers.

Statistics are like the spelling of the English language—safe only in the hands of very well educated people. As I write there lies on the desk beside me the tables showing the registration and vote of men and women respectively for every precinct in Denver at the last presidential election and the succeeding city election in the spring of 1913, and as I look them over they remind me of the man who managed to spell coffee without using a single letter that appears in the word according to Webster; yet, if k-a-u-g-p-h-y doesn't spell coffee, what does it spell?

In the spring election of 1912 a phenomenal vote was polled. Denver's population is about 213,000 and the returns showed 75,000 votes cast,

in round numbers. Why did it drop to 60,000 the following fall, with Progressivism spreading like a prairie fire, the Democrats whooping it up as if the donkey had at last caught sight of his master's crib, and the "regular" Republicans bent upon the thought that revenge is sweet? The answer is to be found in local conditions that reached fever pitch in the spring. It was the last battle of the old "machine" before

> It went to pieces all at once,
> All at once, and nothing first,
> Just as bubbles do when they burst.

A suspicious person might be moved to inquire whether some of the methods that have brought disgrace upon the city in the past might not have been employed. Probably everyone who could be prevailed upon to vote did so, but there were no charges of coercion, and with watchers in every precinct, alert to detect anything that even smacked of irregularity, there wasn't a precinct where so much as a charge of fraud was made. Moreover, the victorious ticket was not in control of the police or any part of the city government, and while the election machinery was nominally in the hands of the election commission, under a court decision reversed by an initiated law the following fall, the judges were appointed by the Democratic and Republican county chairmen, as is still the case in state elections.

Given the figures, unless one is familiar with the facts behind them, they confuse rather than enlighten. Let us take as a particularly good example the figures for District A, which shows a decrease of more than 30 per cent between the city election in the spring, and the national election in November.

DISTRICT A

	Reg'd	Votes	Women Reg'd	Men Reg'd	Women Voting	Men Voting
Precinct 1	519	320	227	292	126	194
Precinct 2	560	323	168	392	88	233
Precinct 3	519	294	191	328	94	200
Precinct 4	564	341	295	269	137	204
Precinct 5	404	299	176	228	129	170
Precinct 6	498	342	237	261	157	185
Precinct 7	435	322	188	247	138	184
Precinct 8	530	339	219	211	123	216
Precinct 9	516	371	242	274	169	202
Precinct 10	549	392	231	318	155	237
Precinct 11	564	417	245	319	158	259
Precinct 12	466	313	227	239	145	168
	6,124	4,073	2,646	2,478	1,619	2,454

Why the discrepancy between the registration and the vote? In District B the same startling condition appears. With a registered vote

of 4,591, but 2,628 votes were cast, and the men cast 1,884, or practically 60 per cent of them from a registration of 3,178, while the women cast but 744, or 52.6 per cent votes out of a registration of 1,413. In Districts C and D a similar condition exists. The explanation is very simple. These four districts all of them border on Cherry Creek or the Platte river. Early in June of 1912 one of the most disastrous floods in the history of the city occurred. A cloud-burst sent the creek upon the rampage, and as it empties into the river that also overflowed its banks. In District A, eight out of the twelve precincts were in the submerged region. The land lies low, is an old part of the city, and many houses were demolished, or so filled with mud and water that they were not again inhabited. The people had voted in the spring, so their names remained upon the books, but they were driven from that part of the city. This is the case, to a greater or less extent in all four of these districts. In addition to this, District B embraces the heart of the business section. Within its borders are grouped most of the cheap lodging houses, occupied by men, which shows why so many more men than women are found on the books, and it accounts also, in part at least, for the decline in the vote. These men come and go, and while Denver is technically their home, probably many of them were away in the beet-fields, more interested in getting the wages that would pay the lodging house charge for the winter than in national affairs.

The next table is that of District E. This is the eastern section of the city, known as "Park Hill," and not yet built up. Numerically, it is the smallest district in the city. There are many handsome homes there, and a large percentage of home-owners.

DISTRICT E

	Reg'd	Votes	Women Reg'd	Men Reg'd	Women Voting	Men Voting
Precinct 1	135	133	51	84	51	82
Precinct 2	505	438	248	257	207	231
Precinct 3	332	255	169	163	119	136
Precinct 4	409	308	199	210	134	174
Precinct 5	179	127	90	89	63	64
Precinct 6	426	318	119	227	144	174
	1,986	1,579	956	1,030	718	861

In the first precinct it is noteworthy that all the women registered voted, and all the men but two; in the fifth, ninety women and eighty-nine men registered and sixty-three women and sixty-four men voted, which makes two in favor of the men.

Someone will be sure to look anxiously for the figures showing the vote of the "bad women" who loom large on the horizon of certain fearful ones. After the spring election of 1912 we counted the women registered

in the three precincts within the "red-light district." They showed 176 women registered and 143 voting. A number of these were evidently respectable women; at least when one finds John Jones and Jennie registered from the same address, and John is a hod-carrier and Jennie a "housewife" it is fair to assume that she is, to use the phase so dear to the eighteenth century writers, "an honest woman."

This district has been abolished for more than a year. The empty houses stand there, grim and forbidding, and, at last, thank God, forbidden. Some of the women have gone away; others have moved to other parts of the city, but this infernal plague spot, an evil naked and unashamed no longer exists in Denver, though attempts are being made to reopen it, which have led to recall petitions and the resignation of one police official. Probably a recall election will have been held before this article appears.

Some curious sidelights appear in going over tables of this kind. In District F, Precinct 1, the population is mainly American; 216 women registered and only 127 voted, while out of 270 men who registered, 217 voted. In Precinct 3 which has a number of foreigners, 243 women registered and 155 voted—about three fifths, and of 309 men registered 241, or about 78 per cent voted. In Precinct 9, largely Italian, 250 women registered and 172 voted, while 277 men registered and 216 voted, while in Precinct 10, which has the same kind of population, 118 women registered and 71 voted, and 163 men registered and 115 voted.

The only other district in the city which has a large number of foreigners, is R. In the four precincts, sometimes referred to as Judea, where a large number of Russian Jews have their homes, 658 women registered and 477 voted, or 72.5 per cent, a much better per cent than in some of the purely American precincts. In the same precincts, the men cast 78 per cent of their registered vote.

Suppose we contrast this with District S, the southern part of the city, with many small homes, and well-to-do American born citizens. Out of 1,335 women who registered, only 909, or 67½ per cent voted, and of 1,646 men registered, only 1,270, or 77 per cent went to the polls. In Precinct 8, where Denver University is located, 179 women registered and 123, or 70 per cent voted, and 192 men registered, while 156, or 80 per cent voted.

In District O, which has been described by a resident of Capitol Hill, with quite unconscious sarcasm, as "that poor part of the city where everybody owns their own homes," there was a total registration of 3,567 women of whom 2,496, or 70 per cent voted, while out of 3,990 men registered, 3,104, or 78 per cent voted. In District J, which is the rich part of the city, where a good many people own their own homes also, and it is difficult to find places to hold elections, or men and women willing to serve as judges and clerks, more women registered for

the national election than men—3,696 women against 3,596 men, but 922 women failed to vote as against 658 men. Of course there is an explanation, but who shall say what it is? This is normally a conservative, Republican district, but the Republican vote in the primaries made it obvious that the fight was between the Progressives and the Democrats. There are a good many people who don't see any use of voting unless one can be on the winning side, and this may account for the discrepancy. It is an excuse rather than a reason, but that is so of anything that keeps an American citizen from voting when he can. Concerning this sin of omission, I wish it were possible to din the words of Washington Gladden into the ears of the American people "'Inasmuch as ye did it not' was considered just ground for damnation."

At the primary election, by the way, 22,290 votes were cast, the Progressives not taking part, as the law provides only for parties having cast a certain vote at a preceding election.

In February, 1913, a special election was held, amending the city charter, and changing from the ordinary to the commission form of city government. There was a hotly contested campaign, with the usual amount of misinformation; it was known that being a special election no one's name would be stricken from the books for failure to vote, and as a result the total dropped to 29,800, less than 50 per cent of the vote cast in the fall. As provided for in the commission form amendments, which were adopted by a majority of 4,840, an election to choose commissioners was called for May 20, 1913. There were elected at that time, five commissioners, finance, safety, property, improvements, public works and social welfare being the departments, also an auditor. There were 135 candidates in the field of whom five were women, but the argument that a multiplicity of candidates will result in getting out a full vote did not prove true for the total vote was 46,141, less than 63 per cent of the registration, and over 14,000 less than the vote polled in the fall.

One of the various things that keeps the life of an election official from growing monotonous is the tendency of each legislature to make new election laws, and the latest assembly passed a law providing for the further restriction of the ballot by making the voter take the oath of total physical disability before the judges can render any assistance. As an initiated law for the headless ballot was adopted at the 1912 election, it naturally followed that there was a decrease in the few precincts that have a large foreign vote. In the same precincts in District R where the Russian women had cast 477 votes in the fall, they polled but 384 in the spring. The decrease in the vote of the men was not so noticeable. But the decrease was noticeable all over the city, where no new law had any effect as well as in the foreign precincts. District E came the nearest to polling its normal vote, the figures showing that it comes within 20 per cent of the vote cast the preceding fall.

DISTRICT E

	Reg'd	Votes	Women Reg'd	Men Reg'd	Women Voting	Men Voting
Precinct 1	157	107	59	98	37	70
Precinct 2	529	344	256	273	142	202
Precinct 3	302	177	150	152	69	108
Precinct 4	380	249	176	204	98	151
Precinct 5	138	99	66	72	40	59
Precinct 6	365	235	165	200	87	148
	1,871	1,211	872	999	473	738

The loss in the other districts ranges from 21 to 28 per cent and is about the same among men and women, if anything fewer women voting than men. District T gives a good average. It has some very poor homes and some very handsome ones within its boundaries, and none of the precincts are large in point of territory, so that it is easy for voters to get to the polls if they care to do so, yet the same discouraging tendency is but too evident.

DISTICT T

	Reg'd	Votes	Women Reg'd	Men Reg'd	Women Voting	Men Voting
Precinct 1	556	317	261	295	138	179
Precinct 2	242	157	107	135	67	90
Precinct 3	405	227	175	230	87	140
Precinct 4	384	240	175	209	98	142
Precinct 5	492	282	255	237	139	143
Precinct 6	621	361	314	307	170	191
Precinct 7	551	320	288	263	150	170
Precinct 8	498	294	244	254	134	160
Precinct 9	513	329	255	258	149	180
Precinct 10	501	292	228	273	125	167
Precinct 11	319	188	152	167	79	109
Precinct 12	589	303	299	290	136	167
	5,671	3,310	2,753	2,918	1,472	1,838

At the special election held February 14, 1914, to vote upon the purchase of the privately owned water plant, several other propositions and the issuance of bonds, necessitating two ballots, one for taxpayers only, there was a heavy registration, yet the total vote dropped to 34,238, nearly 12,000 less than in the spring.

The simple truth is that Denver has had elections until the town is tired of them, and perhaps the women are more tired than the men because they think they don't understand the political situation so well. The average man may not be a student of public affairs but he thinks he understands politics; like the man from Boston, you can always tell him, but you can't tell him much.

It would be easy to remind the reader that there are 116 and nine tenths of a man to every 100 women in Colorado, and that this accounts for a

considerable number of votes, but it is very doubtful whether there are that many more men than women in Denver. These figures take in metaliferous and coal mining camps and localities where women are few. I have heard it claimed that there are more women than men in Denver, and while I do not think this is probable, on the other hand, much as I should like to give the derelict woman voter the benefit of the doubt, neither do I believe that there is any great preponderance of male voters. If we take the table of figures for the 1912 election, some facts are very evident.

With a population of 213,000, it is conceded that the registration of 84,000 comes within a few hundreds of the total voting strength of the city. There are 51,480 children of school age, according to the school census; there are many more under school age, and a good many thousand who are at work, or at home who have not attained their majority. Beside these there are the usual number of feeble old people who do not get out much, and a considerable population of transient health-seekers who do not regard Denver as home. The registration simply stands for the good intentions of the people, and is but an example of how far promise exceeds performance. At the time of the election the decrease was accounted for by the discontinuance of the use of carriages. Voters must get to the polls without the aid of gaily decorated automobiles, heralding the prowess of this or that candidate or party now. Some of them were not aware of the change and waited for the carriage that never came, and others who have grown to look upon their vote as a favor bestowed rather than a duty performed, withheld it when it wasn't made easy and pleasant to give. The sins of the stay-at-home voter are no new thing, unfortunately, nor is the condition confined to Denver. This is the weak link in the chain of democracy. If Tennyson's dream is ever realized and a realm is held in awe "by the common-sense of most" it will have to be a good, active, working common sense. That women are no better as citizens than men ought not to be a surprise. In the families where father and husband and son never fail to vote, mother and wife and daughter do not fail. Where the men-folk are indifferent, the women are not apt to be enthusiastic. In considering these conditions I have often been reminded of something that Sarah Platt Decker said when the club movement was new. Each year, as it came time to pay our dues some of the women were wont to talk about "joining the club again this year," or not doing so. "You join the club once," she said. "After that you have certain duties to perform as long as you stay in it. You may resign, or you may be dropped for non-payment of dues. There is no other way out."

A good many people look at the vote in the same way,—maybe they will exercise it this year, and perhaps not, instead of thinking of it as the dues we owe our country so long as we stay in it. I would like to claim more for the women of Denver, but these are the facts. Perhaps facing them will help us to mend them.

THE PLACE OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF A CITY

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THE introduction of the new types of city charters in recent years has necessitated the regrouping of municipal ativities in order to bring them all under the supervision of a few central directing authorities. In the early commission charters this regrouping was accomplished in a very summary fashion.[1] The existing departments and functions were distributed among five commissioners without following any discoverable principle unless it was that of convenience or local caprice. The public school system, in these charters, was usually left as formerly under an independent board. The public library was assigned at random to some one of the central departments such as public buildings, finance, public safety, or to some other wholly unrelated function, or else, it was allowed to remain under an independent library board.

In some of the more recent charters there is evident an attempt, at least, to regroup municipal functions according to some definite system. The new Cleveland charter is perhaps the best example of such a rearrangement, but in this the public schools and libraries are not included. The new St. Paul charter, while retaining the old departments to a large extent, marks a change in placing the public schools and the public library under one of the seven commissioners. The proposed Minneapolis charter, rejected in 1913, contained a systematic grouping of functions on a new plan, the public schools and libraries being placed in charge of an elective board of seven members whose president is given power equal with one of the seven city commissioners in making the annual budget.

It is not my purpose to discuss in this article the problem of the proper grouping of municipal activities and their organization into departments, but rather to consider the place that the public library should occupy in such a scheme. Before proposing anything new in the relation of the library to the city's other functions, let us see how the plan now prevailing was developed.[2]

The first modern free city library, and the one that blazed the trail so dis-

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[2] "The Public Library in Commission Governed Cities" by Alice S. Tyler. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. ii, page 255.

tinctly for the many that have followed, was the public library of Boston, which opened its doors in 1854, but which was clearly projected as early as 1847.[3] The movement was started by an international peace enthusiast, a French actor by the name of M. Vattemare. It was in furtherance of his dream of promoting world peace through an international exchange of scientific, literary and artistic productions that he induced the city of Paris to present to the city of Boston a considerable number of books, the very first of that celebrated collection forming the public library. The necessity of suitably acknowledging and storing these books led to the appointment by the city council of a joint committee on the library under whose direction the Boston public library was founded and operated for many years.

In the actual founding of the library the international aspect of the project was soon overshadowed by another which made a more direct appeal to the people of Boston and which was at the same time the real justification for the public library movement then inaugurated. This view was expressed by Edward Everett in letters to the mayor of Boston and is thus summed up in a concluding sentence in a letter dated June 7, 1851:

> I cannot but think that a public library well supplied with books in the various departments of art and science, and open at all times for consultation and study to the citizens at large, is absolutely needed to make our admirable system of public education complete; and to continue in some degree through life that happy equality of intellectual privileges which now exists in our schools, but terminates with them.

This interpretation of the public library greatly strengthened the cause. A library free to all was but a necessary step forward in universal public education,—a sort of continuation school. The city through its schools had taught the masses how to read; but had so far failed to supply the necessary books. As a result only the few who could afford the luxury of books at home or memberships in private library associations made an adequate use of their ability to read after their school days were over. So imbued were the fathers of the first public library with the idea that it was a part of the free educational system that in 1852 they requested the use of the ground floor of the Adams school in Mason street, for housing the library. Here the Boston public library was opened May 2, 1854, and remained until January 1, 1858, when the first central building was ready for occupancy.

Conceiving the public library as a part of the free school system, its founders gave this new institution an exceedingly democratic and liberal spirit. It was to be open to all without charge, with as little ceremony as possible, and with only such restrictions as were absolutely necessary,

[3] Wadlin; The Public Library of the city of Boston.

the object being to induce all classes of the people to read. In order not to offend the traditional New England antipathy against taxation, the statement was given out that the city would not be expected to buy the books, but that these would be largely donated, the city supplying library space and the necessary services of a custodian.

The spirit of giving to the library was thereby awakened. Mr. Everett offered his valuable and rare collection of public documents. Joshua Bates, then associated with the Barings in London, offered to supply all the funds needed for the purchase of books by the library during the rest of his life, estimating the sum at $50,000. When the trustee suggested that this sum be funded and that only the proceeds be used for the purchase of books, he consented and added $20,000 for immediate purchases in order that there might be a good collection when the library opened. Mr. Bates, remembering the winter nights in Boston when he as a boy, having neither heat, light nor books in his room, frequented a book store where he was permitted to sit and read from the stock, urged that "large, well-lighted rooms, well-warmed in winter" be provided. In later letters he suggested that the library building should be supplied with every comfort and convenience and should be lofty and elevating in architecture, awakening in every citizen a pride that such a place is free to him. Many others made donations according to their means, and so the books were assured, but of course very large additional funds for the purchase of books were granted by the city in later years.

The response from the reading public of Boston was equally reassuring. In the first six months over 6,500 persons called for over 35,000 books. The novel freedom allowed in the taking of books from the library for home use had not been abused in a single instance. The fathers of the free library movement exhibited an inspiring faith in the bookless people of the cities and correctly gauged their desire and capacity for reading. They felt that the example they were setting would be followed by every American city.

The place of the library in the scheme of city government was determined in the following manner: The joint committee of the two branches of the city council which was appointed in 1847 as noted above, recommended the establishment of a free public library and in 1848 secured the passage of a bill by the state legislature authorizing the city to levy a tax, not exceeding $5,000 annually, however, for library purposes. In 1854 Mayor Seaver suggested that five or six gentlemen interested in the new project be appointed by the council, who together with the joint standing committee should form a "board of directors or trustees for the public library." This action he explained to the city council would secure public support for the as yet untried project. The council accordingly appointed five leading men of Boston, among them Edward Everett and George Tichnor. Prior to this action the council

had appointed Mr. Capen as librarian. The five citizens together with the two members of the council formed a subcommittee on the library and it was this body that drew up the first definite plan for the creation of the library and formulated those broad-minded principles governing its use that mark an epoch in library administration.

The ordinance of 1852 gave the trustees authority to make rules for the control of the library, subject to the restrictions of the council, and to appoint the subordinate employees. The librarian was to be annually elected by the council "after a recommendation of a person, in their judgment suitable" had been made in writing by the trustees. In 1857, in view of the opening of the new building and the rapid growth of the library, the trustees recommended that a man of wide learning and recognized scientific attainments be appointed with the title of superintendent, who should be given full charge subject to the trustees. They desired that the power to appoint the superintendent be vested in the trustees and that the term of office be for life, similar to that of a professor in a college. It seemed to them entirely unfitting that a man holding such a position should be annually elected by a political body.

The council, not being convinced that the services of a man of high scholarly attainments would be permanently required, the request of the trustees was granted only in part. The position of superintendent was provided for subject to termination by the council whenever in its opinion his services were no longer needed. The superintendent and the librarian were to be annually elected by the council after a suitable recommendation had been made for each position by the trustees. Though the trustees repeatedly renewed their request, it was not until the year 1865 that they were authorized to appoint the superintendent, but they were still required to also appoint a librarian, who shared with him some of the executive authority. In 1870 the superintendent became the sole executive, responsible directly to the trustees and appointed by them. His term, however, remained one year. In 1877, the historian Justin Winsor, who was then superintendent resigned because the city council attempted to regulate the salaries of the employees and to interfere in other ways with the internal affairs of the library. The friends of the public library took advantage of the situation to secure the enactment of a state law incorporating the library and limiting the power of the council to fixing annually the gross amount which was to be contributed by the city. Up to the passage of that act the Boston public library had rested upon ordinances of the city council. The act of 1877 gave the library the protection of what was equivalent to a provision of the city charter. The council retained two representatives on the board of trustees until 1885, when a law was enacted prohibiting its members from holding positions on executive boards. The trustees of the Boston public library were thus reduced to five. They are now

appointed by the mayor subject to the approval of the civil service commission as to their technical fitness for the position.

In the end the trustees had become an independent board, having very little organic connection with the other branches of the city government. This is significant because the independent library board, either appointive or elective, has become all but universal. Its adoption in Boston was largely an historical accident. The first library enthusiasts made their appeal direct to the mayor and city council. The donation by the city of Paris of its valuable statistical reports and other public documents to the city led to the appointment of the library committee of the council. To strengthen this committee composed as it was of aldermen busy with other affairs and knowing little about libraries, five citizens with influence and a real vision of what the public library should be were appointed to serve under them. These five with two members of the council committee formed a subcommittee that did the real work. Naturally the subcommittee or trustees, and the aldermen did not always agree about library affairs. By a cut and fit process their differences were compromised and adjusted, the trustees gaining more and more independence and authority, until finally at the end of eighteen years they won a position practically independent of the regular city government.

The question now arises shall we accept this plan of administering the public library as final, as the best possible? The process by which the relation of the library to the city's other affairs was arrived at certainly cannot inspire great confidence. The control of the library and its relation to the other departments of the city government was evidently not deliberately planned by the founders. Their thoughts were centered on the establishment of a great public library. They merely accepted the joint standing committee of the council as the best arrangement of that time and made the most of it. In other words, the scheme of library housing and control was evolved by force of circumstances in Boston and other cities have largely copied the plan. The library having been accidentally placed under trustees, entirely independent of the board of education, the close relation of the public library to the city schools pointed out by the founders was soon lost sight of and has only in recent years been rediscovered and made much of.

It is impossible to convey an idea of the library situation as it is to-day without incorporating some statistics culled from many volumes of annual reports. The increase in the amount and variety of services rendered by the public library has necessitated a vast increase in the plant and in the staff. Starting in three rooms of a small building, the Boston public library has grown to be a great system reaching out all over the city. The central building, one of the truly worthy municipal structures in this country, represents an investment of over $2,500,000. Then there are twelve branch libraries, sixteen branch reading rooms, and smaller col-

lections in 110 schools, sixty-one engine houses and thirty-three institutions. The library buildings and grounds owned by Boston are valued at $4,500,000 and the entire property including books and other collections is worth about $7,500,000.

The growth of the public library in many other cities has been equally phenomenal. New York has three central buildings, costing over $11,500,000, the main building on Fifth avenue, a truly palatial structure, costing about $9,000,000. The city maintains in addition about eighty-eight branch libraries and 868 library stations in schools, city departments, stores and other public places.

Philadelphia is constructing a new central building to cost over $11,000,000. There are twenty-eight branch libraries completed or in progress and more have been provided for. Chicago has a large central building, twenty-four branch libraries, and smaller collections in sixty-two schools, and 116 other stations. Cleveland is building a new central building to cost $2,000,000. There are nine large branch libraries, thirteen smaller branches, fifteen school branches, two children's branches, one for the blind, twenty-nine deposit stations, forty delivery stations, 305 school room collections, and fifty-six home libraries, in all 469 places where public library books may be obtained. Detroit has a central building, nine branch libraries, and smaller collections in thirty-one schools, twenty-eight stations and ten playgrounds.

Minneapolis has a central library, thirteen branches, and smaller collections in thirty-three stores and factories, twenty-eight schools, fourteen settlement houses, five engine houses, and other stations, making a total of 105 places where public library books may be had. Newark has a central building, seven branch libraries, thirteen small stations, forty-one traveling libraries, and 402 school room collections.

These enumerations indicate fairly the great expansion that is taking place in all of the large enterprising cities. The figures given are the latest obtainable from published reports. The growth is so rapid that the figures are out of date before the annual reports are printed and distributed. It is the avowed ambition of some library trustees to extend the public library system until every section of the city is supplied with a library building. One report reads:

> This city now has five immense high school buildings and more are needed, and sixty grade schools all complete and fully equipped for educational work. A rightly developed library system should, to furnish equally complete facilities for books and reading rooms, have as many complete library as school buildings.

The cities have but lately become aware of the fact that their costly school plants are put to use for only a small part of the working day and for only nine or ten months of the year. The wider use of the school plant is a popular slogan, and yet at this very time the educational plant

is being duplicated by the erection of a set of buildings for library purposes. An outsider cannot help suspecting that the explanation of this paradox is to be found primarily in the historical accident which decreed that the schools should be managed by one independent board and the libraries by another. At any rate the existence of two distinct educational authorities, one for the schools and the other for the libraries is a very natural provocation to erect also two sets of educational buildings. The city as a whole does not in any given case deliberately adopt such a policy. The city is committed to it by the practice in other cities and by the decision of authorities that act in its name. Some duplication of schools and library buildings is inevitable and desirable. It must be equally apparent, however, that a program calling for the erection of an expensive branch library building adjoining each high school, and many of the larger graded schools, in the neighborhood parks, and in practically every organized locality that can exert sufficient influence to get one, is a program involving large public outlays that merits more careful consideration by our cities than has been heretofore given to it. The fact that a few wealthy citizens are giving away library buildings does not materially affect the case.

In the half century or more just passed municipalities have inaugurated many new services, for instance, water-works, parks, modern police and fire protection, free schools, free libraries, museums, and many others. The installation and development of these new undertakings has been entrusted very largely to independent non-paid citizen boards, having a broader outlook and more freedom of action than the city departments or the committees of the council. The public library, like most other new things, was introduced by a man with a new idea and a few enthusiasts who had faith in him. Every government should be elastic enough to permit experiments to be tried out as this one was. It does not follow that the organization inaugurating and installing a new service is necessarily the best fitted to administer it efficiently, after it is once thoroughly established. In fact most of these newer municipal services are now administered by centralized departments of the city government. The independent boards still having charge of the public schools, libraries, art galleries, museums, and other secondary educational activities will probably in course of time become an organic branch of a properly organized city government, responsive and responsible to the rising municipal democracies.

This change may be brought about by placing the entire educational establishment, including public schools, libraries, art galleries, museums, etc., under one central administrative division of the city with proper subdivisions, having ample freedom of action, separate budgets and properly protected funds. This is the solution toward which the new St. Paul charter, with all its great and glaring imperfections, is aiming.

Meanwhile, the less radical plan of the proposed Minneapolis charter will probably seem to many the next logical step to take if any change is to be made. That plan calls for the union of the public schools and libraries under one board with separate budgets, well guarded funds and a voice in the making of the annual city appropriations.

The advantages of uniting the public library system with the public school system under one central authority properly related to the rest of the city government are many, among which the following may be enumerated:

1. A marked saving in the amount spent on buildings and in their operation and maintenance.

The amount that might be saved in some cities is very large. The report prepared by Dr. F. C. Howe on the economic utilization of public school plants of New York City in 1912 under the direction of a committee consisting of the present mayor and comptroller and a borough president came to the following conclusion. After stating that the erection of thirty-two branch libraries in the last five years had entailed an expenditure of $2,595,890 for buildings and equipment, and $1,422,201, for sites, the report makes this comment:

> A large part of this cost could have been saved had the schools and the branch libraries been housed under the same roof. In addition, the branch libraries are not united with the schools, as they could and should be, for the libraries ought to be a closely integrated agency of education.

The fact that wealthy patrons are presenting the cities with library buildings including now even the branch buildings, does not make a waste any less a waste. Moreover, the sites and the cost of operation and maintenance must be supplied out of the public funds, and this is the real burden.

2. A unification of all the educational activities under a single directing agency would result in a better utilization of the school buildings.

The New York report referred to above estimates the annual loss to that city from the incomplete utilization of the school plant at $2,500,000. The amounts that might be gained from a full use of school buildings in other cities is proportionally equally large. If the social center program is ever going to be realized, it will be through the utilization of the school buildings. The older buildings may require some remodeling and certainly all the new ones should be intelligently designed to meet these new requirements. The neighborhood branch library, assembly hall for entertainments, lectures, campaign discussions, and polling places should be provided for. To carry out this new program, there should be one central directing agency.

3. This plan simplifies the machinery of city government and gives democracy a better chance to direct it intelligently.

There are cities in this country still burdened with an archaic system of government requiring the voters to elect, on the same day that national, state, and county officers are chosen, a long list of city officers, including the members of several independent boards, among them the school board and the library board. The selection of library trustees, especially in such cases is apt to be a mere formality or perhaps a farce. An intelligent choice of candidates or the making of an intelligent decision as to library issues, is extremely improbable except when an unusual emergency or scandal arouses the people. The greatest stumbling block in the way of intelligent and effective city management is in many cities still the possession of cumbersome political machinery that the people cannot work to advantage, and never were expected to. Any simplification of the city government is a distinct gain.

4. The uniting of the public libraries and other secondary educational agencies with the public schools would greatly strengthen the influence of the educational interests as opposed to the material, the purely mercenary and political.

To continue to divide and scatter our educational forces and organize the material interests more and more efficiently is not the wisest plan to pursue. There is no good reason why the educational efforts of the city should be confined to the children in school. To do that means to stop the educational process for the great majority when they reach the eighth grade. The development of the city high schools greatly improved the entire public school system. The addition of the continuation and vocational schools is going to do still more. The further the educational work is carried and the more it meets the needs of the youth nearing maturity and the adult, the greater the need for a close affiliation between the school and the library.

In the future the public schools will study the local, industrial and commercial needs and opportunities and adjust themselves to these conditions. The work now being done by the public schools of Newark points the way.

5. Placing the schools and libraries under one central directing agency will promote a closer integration between them.

The public libraries serve not only the population beyond the school age, but they are more and more serving the children in the schools. Perhaps the most effective work now done by the libraries is their service to the public schools. Rochester is attempting to develop a public library wholly in connection with its schools, without any distinctive library buildings. Grand Rapids has postponed the construction of branch library buildings indefinitely in favor of utilizing the schools for that purpose. Many other cities have located branch libraries in school buildings, especially in high schools. The experience in all cities is that

where independent branch libraries are established they succeed best if located in immediate proximity to the public schools.

The libraries everywhere are striving to meet the needs of the schools by furnishing selected collections of books, pictures, clippings and other materials to teachers and placing them in the school rooms where needed. They maintain reading rooms especially for children and employ attendants who do story telling and other work akin to teaching.

The closer the affiliation between the schools and the libraries becomes, the stronger the reason why they should be directed from a common center. It would seem almost as sensible to place the large university libraries, many of which are truly public libraries, under a board of trustees, separate from the regents of the university, as to place the city library under a board distinct from the school board.

The appointment of library trustees by the board of education as provided by the statutes of Ohio, or the representation of the school authorities on the library board, in one way or another, as in Indiana and other states, needless to say is not a solution of the question. That there are great difficulties in the way of bringing the public schools and libraries together after many years of complete separation is self evident. That many librarians, accustomed to their present position of almost complete independence, will raise objections is to be expected. Nevertheless, having raised the question at the Los Angeles meeting of the National Municipal League in 1912, it is here elaborated to permit a fuller consideration and discussion.

THE NEW MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATION REGULATING MUNICIPAL INDEBTEDNESS

BY CHARLES F. GETTEMY [1]
Boston

BY THE new municipal indebtedness act, which took full effect on January 1, 1914, Massachusetts now has the most comprehensive and effective body of legislation on this subject of any state in the union. No other has undertaken upon such a complete scale scientifically to classify municipal loans according to the purposes and periods for which debt may be incurred; in no other state has the futility of the old sinking fund method of amortizing debt been so clearly recognized, with the result that the further creation of such funds has been prohibited, it being required since the passage of the act that all issues of so-called funded or fixed debt shall be in accordance with the serial method of payment; and in no other state has there been established a system of state certification of municipal securities such as has been in operation in Massachusetts with respect to town notes since January 1, 1911.

As soon, therefore, as the evil results of the lax methods of financing which have prevailed in the past are eliminated, as is gradually but effectively being done in a legal, orderly manner, this legislation may be expected to place the municipal indebtedness of Massachusetts upon a sounder basis and more closely in accord with the best principles of municipal finance than is that of any of her sister states. It ought to follow, logically, that the bonds and notes of the cities and towns of Massachusetts should hold a unique position among this class of securities and possess exceptional attractiveness for the investor whose first concern is safety of principal and certainty of income.

This promising prospect is, however, not being achieved, except as the result of the disclosure of a condition of affairs respecting the manner in which the cities and towns of the state were formerly permitted to incur debt, which was lamentable in the extreme. Three years ago the bureau of statistics found that in eighty-two out of the 189 cities and towns investigated there was an indebtedness outstanding for the payment of which no provision had been made as required by law amounting to over $1,120,000, nearly $270,000 of this being in the form of demand notes, some of which had been outstanding for over a generation, while over $850,000 was in the form of liabilities representing trust funds borrowed

[1] Director, Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics.

or used. Indeed, the practice of borrowing the principal of trust funds left by generous benefactors and turning it into the common treasury for any most convenient, contemporary municipal purpose, appears to have been popular in Massachusetts from time immemorial. The object for which such funds were established was, indeed, with few exceptions, fully, not to say munificently, protected by an arrangement whereby it was to receive an annual income assessed perpetually on the taxpayers (at a good and sometimes a generous rate) in lieu of actual interest on the appropriated principal; but that such a device represents an unsound financial policy for the municipality and one likewise calculated to defeat ultimately one of the purposes of the donor,—namely, to relieve the taxpayers of a portion of the burden due to interest-bearing debt,—ought to be apparent.

What really happened in these cases is quite clear. A municipality availing itself of the opportunity of borrowing the principal of a trust fund for some current need relieved itself of the necessity of raising the amount from taxation; or the fund was used for some new improvement so that without an increase in the tax rate the administration could appeal successfully for the support of an admiring constituency.

The investigation of the bureau in the early part of 1911 which brought these conditions to public attention was felt, however, to have only scratched the surface of a subject of vital importance to the financial well-being of the municipalities of the commonwealth. A more thorough investigation, with ample funds for the purpose, was accordingly authorized by the legislature, and special agents of the department who were sent out through the state actually visited 326 of the 354 cities and towns, the remaining twenty-eight being small places known to have no debt or whose financial transactions were so simple that the essential facts were readily obtainable by mail. About nine months were consumed in this work and a report made on April 15, 1912, to the legislature then sitting.

This report furnished for the first time a comprehensive presentation of the outstanding municipal indebtedness of every city and town of the commonwealth, arranged so as to show its gross and net funded or fixed indebtedness, the amount of gross and net general debt incurred within and without the debt limit, so-called, the manner in which loans had been made in anticipation of taxes, and, in general, the methods by and the purposes for which debts had been incurred. The aggregate gross municipal indebtedness was found to be, at the close of the financial year 1910, approximately a quarter of a billion of dollars, of which more than $238,000,000 was funded or fixed; and this aggregate appeared to be increasing at the rate of about $7,000,000 a year in the cities and about $700,000 a year in the large towns. It is hardly surprising that such a situation became the cause of increasing apprehension on the part

of the Massachusetts public and that the question was raised as to whether it was not possible by some comprehensive legislation to check the growth of municipal indebtedness; or, at least, to restrict more carefully the purposes for which municipalities might borrow.

The constitution of Massachusetts contains no restrictions or limitations upon the borrowing powers of its cities and towns, counties, or other civil divisions, and prior to 1875 our municipalities were apparently permitted to enjoy the privilege of incurring debt without any substantial let or hindrance and for practically unlimited periods of time. The natural result of this freedom from any restraining influence was inevitable. It became a not uncommon practice to authorize loans for the purpose of meeting other loans at maturity, thus extending for indefinite periods the final payment not only of loans for permanent improvements but even temporary loans issued in anticipation of the collection of revenue, instead of systematically planning to pay maturing debt from the tax levy. It was literally a system in which the future was left to take care of itself and, as was inevitable, in the process of time annual charges for interest, originally a negligible factor, became heavy and municipal debts began to assume formidable proportions.

Finally the legislature determined that something must be done to put a brake upon the rapidity with which the cities and towns of the state were being plunged into debt. It accordingly passed, in 1875, a general municipal indebtedness act. This law, supplemented by an act passed ten years later placing a limit on the tax rate in cities for municipal purposes, undertook to remedy and prevent the perpetuation of existing conditions which were felt to be no longer tolerable; and the framers of the original act and their successors who amended it from time to time unquestionably believed that they had devised a comprehensive scheme for placing effective restrictions upon the creation of debt by inefficient or extravagant city and town governments at the expense of the taxpayers. But that which could not be foreseen was the ingenious devices by which ways were to be discovered for evading the clear intent of the law, or, where its intent was not clearly expressed, for taking refuge in that form of interpretation which would most conveniently serve an immediate exigency, political or otherwise. Moreover, for more than thirty years after the passage of the original act, no machinery existed for collecting, through a disinterested and impartial source, information in regard to the manner in which the law was being observed,—a function now being performed by the bureau of statistics.

Hence, after the lapse of a full generation, the taxpayers were again confronted with substantially the same problem that led to the passage of the act of 1875,—with a state of affairs, in many municipalities, apparently not a whit better than if no law on the subject had ever been passed. To a lamentable degree outstanding indebtedness was found to

consist of loans issued to meet current expenses, sometimes boldly and without pretense that they had any other purpose,—since the statute could be readily construed to permit such loans for ten years,—or temporary notes originally issued in anticipation of tax collections which should have been promptly paid from the current year's revenues, but which had been illegally refunded year after year or taken up with legitimate funded loans; or again, as above pointed out, demands for current expenses had been met by depleting trust funds.

Moreover, a collateral special investigation by the bureau of the management of municipal sinking funds in Massachusetts, which involved the computation of some 1,200 different sinking funds in the eighty-five cities and towns (except Boston) having such funds, disclosed the fact that while forty-seven showed net surpluses aggregating $2,855,192, there were fifty-two instances in forty different municipalities of apparent failure to provide sufficiently for the requirements of the funds in order to meet the debt at maturity, the deficiencies, according to the method of computation adopted, aggregating $1,794,391.

In numerous cases it was found that the contributions were based upon no definite, regular formula, the amounts which should have been raised annually apparently never having been properly calculated, or not recalculated with sufficient frequency to meet current requirements accurately.

The report reviewing the conditions revealed by these several investigations of the bureau was referred by the legislature to a special committee appointed for the purpose of pursuing the inquiry still further, and of summoning local officials to give personal testimony. In the course of these hearings evidence was taken relating to every one of the thirty-three cities in the state and to seventy-four of the 320 towns, the widest opportunity being thus given to the officials responsible for the finances of our municipalities to comment upon the findings of the bureau which had, in many instances, borne heavily upon the financial management of particular municipalities. It was, therefore, not without some gratification to the bureau that while, as might have been expected, there was dissent from some of its remedial recommendations, in no case were the data as set forth by its reports seriously disputed.

When the committee sat down to prepare its own report to the incoming legislature, it had before it in concrete form the facts brought out by three separate investigations of the subject of municipal indebtedness by the bureau of statistics, supplemented by the personal testimony of nearly five hundred local officials, representing all departments of municipal financing and coming from all parts of the state, and also by the willingly-given opinions of able attorneys with respect to certain of the technical aspects of the subject. When one considers how inextricably interwoven with municipal politics in its most practical and sometimes

most virulent form this whole subject is, and the fact that no sound legislation relating to it was possible without damage being threatened to unworthy projects and personal aspirations, it is to the great credit of the committee that, although composed of men of different political parties, at no point in its investigations did any of its members appear to be animated by partisan bias; and its report when finally made to the legislature[2] included thirty-two specific recommendations unanimously urged.

The special committee's report was, in turn, referred to a regular standing committee of the legislature, which was about equally divided between members who had served on the preliminary special committee and members who were new to the subject.

Another set of hearings was then advertised and not only was the fullest opportunity given for city and town officials and interested citizens to come forward voluntarily, but special pains were taken by correspondence to familiarize every one who could be supposed to have a responsible interest in the subject, with the proposed legislation prior to its enactment. When, therefore, the recommendations came to be actually acted upon by the legislature itself, they were supported by facts and conditions disclosed by three special investigations of a bureau of the state government and by the unanimous findings of two successive legislative committees. The outcome of these several investigations was then embodied in sixteen acts, the result of careful, preliminary, scientific diagnosis of conditions. I doubt whether any state can show an instance of legislation more thoroughly predigested than that which, without a dissenting voice in either branch of the legislature, has now been placed upon the statute books of Massachusetts for the purpose of restricting and regulating the incurrence of municipal indebtedness in accordance with sound financial principles.

In its more important aspects this new legislation seeks to strike at four fundamental evils of municipal financial administration, namely: (1) The incurrence of funded or fixed debt for current expenses; (2) temporary borrowings in anticipation of tax collections to a practically unlimited amount; (3) the diversion of the principal of trust funds to current expenses or other purposes not contemplated by the donor, and the incurrence of other liabilities without providing properly for the payment of the same; and (4) the neglectful and costly management of sinking funds.

1. *Borrowing for current expenses.* No one, so far as I am aware, has ever been able to define satisfactorily the term "current expenses" so that it will have the same meaning under all conditions and in all localities. Therefore, a mere prohibition in a statute against borrowing for

[2] House Document for 1913, No. 1803.

this purpose would be futile. In Massachusetts advantage has hitherto been taken of a rather loose phrasing of the law under which it had been deemed quite permissible to borrow money for any purpose whatever so long as the loan was limited to ten years,—whether for the support of the poor, the payment of insurance premiums, the compilation of a local history, or the purchase of a town hearse,—for all of which laudable objects of public expenditure Massachusetts municipalities had incurred fixed debt. In view, therefore, of the impracticability of devising a working definition of the term "current expenses" for prohibitory purposes in a general act, it was decided simply to extend the list of *authorized* purposes and periods for which debt might properly be incurred, so as to include all that it might be considered safe to incorporate in a general statute, and then to prohibit unconditionally borrowing for any purpose or for a longer period of time than as thus authorized.

2. *Unrestricted borrowings in anticipation of tax collections.* Under the old law cities and towns, by majority vote, might incur debt for temporary loans in anticipation of the taxes of the current municipal year and expressly made payable therefrom by such vote, and it was stipulated that such loans should be payable within one year after the date of their incurrence. No limitation was, in specific terms, set by the statute upon the amount that might thus be borrowed, and in certain cases it was found that loans had been made which actually exceeded in amount the taxes against which they were issued. The remedy provided by the new legislation is to authorize loans in anticipation not merely of taxes in the narrow sense of the assessors' levy, but of revenue, payment to be made therefrom, the amount of such loans to be limited to the amount of the *tax levy* of the preceding financial year.

3. *The diversion of trust funds and the incurrence of other liabilities without providing properly for the payment of the same.* The agitation begun by the first preliminary investigation of this subject by the bureau in 1911 immediately bore fruit, some thirty municipalities being induced to petition the legislatures of the two succeeding years for the necessary authority by special act, to refund by the serial method of payment indebtedness aggregating $1,088,273.71, most of which represented liabilities caused by the borrowing or use of trust funds (the principal of which has thus now been restored), demand notes long outstanding, and other debts for the payment of which at the time of their incurrence proper provision had not been made. Cities and towns having such liabilities still outstanding in 1913 were, however, required by a general act passed in that year to raise in the tax levy of 1914 the amount necessary to restore the funds, or if to do this would seem to impose too great a burden, they were authorized to borrow for the purpose, *i.e.*, to refund such debts, for a period not to exceed fifteen years; by the same

act all outstanding demand notes for whatever purpose issued must be taken up and similarly paid, the issue of notes of this character thereafter being prohibited.[3]

4. *The inefficient management of sinking funds.* The only really practical means of putting a stop to the abuses of the sinking fund method of paying municipal debt caused by ignorance and inefficiency and to remedy its wastes is to stop the further establishment of such funds. This is the very simple and effective remedy which has now been applied in Massachusetts. The commonwealth itself set the example a few years ago and since then all state bonds have been issued and made payable by the serial method; several of our cities and towns did likewise and the process is now to be hastened by the prohibition of any further creation of sinking funds and the requirements that all debt shall be issued in accordance with the serial plan. The serial payment provision of the law requires municipalities to provide for the payment of all except temporary loans "by such annual payments as will extinguish the same at maturity, but so that the first of said annual payments on account of any loan shall be made not later than one year after the date of the bonds or notes issued therefor, and so that the amount of such annual payments in any year on account of such debts, so far as issued, shall not be less than the amount of principal payable in any subsequent year, and such annual amount, together with the interest on all debts, shall, without further vote, be assessed until such debt is extinguished."

I have explained above that the method devised for putting an end to borrowing for current expenses was to extend the list of authorized specific purposes for which fixed or funded debt might be incurred, and to prohibit borrowing for any other purpose. But aside from this important negative object, this portion of the new law is a piece of constructive legislation noteworthy on its own account, since it is an attempt at a comprehensive statutory classification of municipal indebtedness. It will be of interest, therefore, simply to enumerate in this connection the objects for which municipalities may henceforth borrow in Massachusetts. These authorized loans are of two general classes, those which may be made within the limit of indebtedness fixed by the law, viz., $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the average valuation of the three preceding years in cities and 3 per cent in towns, and those which are exempt from this limitation. The former are fifteen in number (instead of six as in the old law) and with the periods for which they may run, are as follows:

(1) For the construction of sewers for sanitary and surface drainage purposes and for sewage disposal, thirty years.

[3] Up to August 1, 1914, a considerable number of cities and towns had not only taken the necessary steps to refund their debts of this character under the authority of the acts, but had issued the loans.

(2) For acquiring land for public parks, thirty years.

(3) For acquiring land for, and the construction of, schoolhouses or buildings to be used for any municipal or departmental purpose, including the cost of original equipment and furnishing, twenty years.

(4) For the construction of additions to schoolhouses or buildings to be used for any municipal purpose, including the cost of original equipment and furnishings, where said addition increases the floor space of said buildings to which such additions are made, twenty years.

(5) For the construction of bridges of stone or concrete, or of iron superstructure, twenty years.

(6) For the original construction of streets or highways or the extension or widening of streets or highways, including land damages and the cost of pavement and sidewalks laid at the time of said construction, ten years.

(7) For the construction of stone, block, brick or other permanent pavement of similar lasting character, ten years.

(8) For macadam pavement or other road material under specifications approved by the state highway commission, five years.

(9) For the construction of walls or dikes for the protection of highways or property, ten years.

(10) For the purchase of land for cemetery purposes, ten years.

(11) For such part of the cost of additional departmental equipment as is in excess of twenty-five cents per one thousand dollars of the preceding year's valuation, five years.

(12) For the construction of sidewalks of bricks, stone, concrete or other material of similar lasting character, five years.

(13) For connecting dwellings or other buildings with public sewers, when a portion of the cost is to be assessed on the abutting property owners, five years.

(14) For the abatement of nuisances in order to conserve the public health, five years.

(15) For extreme emergency appropriations involving the health or safety of the people or their property, five years.

The second class of loans, those which may be incurred outside the general limit of indebtedness prescribed by the law are:

(1) For temporary loans in anticipation of revenue, or for the payment of any land damages or any proportion of the general expenses of altering a grade crossing, or any proportion of the expense of constructing a highway in anticipation of reimbursement by the commonwealth, or a loan in anticipation of a bond issue, one year.

(2) For establishing or purchasing a system for supplying the inhabitants of a city or town with water, or for the purchase of land for the protection of said system, or for acquiring water rights, thirty years.

(3) For the extension of water mains and for water departmental equipment, five years.

(4) For establishing, purchasing, extending or enlarging a gas or electric lighting plant within the limits of a city or town, twenty years; but the indebtedness so incurred shall be limited to an amount not exceeding in a town 5 per cent and in a city $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the last preceding assessed valuation of such town or city.

(5) For acquiring land for the purposes of a public playground, thirty years; but the indebtedness so incurred shall be limited to an amount not exceeding one half of one per cent of the last preceding assessed valuation of the city or town.

It is furthermore provided that all debts, except for temporary loans, whether incurred within or without the debt limit so-called may be authorized only by a vote of two-thirds of the voters present and voting at a town meeting in towns, or of two-thirds of all the members of a city council or other governing body in cities and subject to the approval of the mayor if such approval be required by the charter. What to include in such a list of authorized loans, of which all municipalities were to be permitted to take advantage, and what to exclude, and the proper periods for which loans of different classes should be allowed to run, were, of course, matters that gave rise to much discussion and differences of opinion. But I think I am entirely safe in saying that, notwithstanding the magnitude, importance, and technical nature of the subject, and the compromises in matters of detail which characterize all reform legislation, the law as finally passed not only involves no sacrifice or substantial modification of any vital principle of sound municipal finance, but on the contrary, represents the embodiment for the first time into our statutes of certain of the most fundamental of these principles.

One of the most conspicuous abuses of the old system was the facility with which municipalities, limited as to the aggregate amount of debt which might be incurred under the general law, were able to obtain from the legislature special acts relieving them from this restriction and authorizing them, in the popular phrase, "to borrow outside the debt limit." The legislature generally had before it in considering such matters only the *ex parte* testimony of interested local officials whose statistics and statements in support of their supposed necessities it was nobody's particular business to examine critically and which, in the absence of reliable, exact information, could not readily be refuted; and with the result that the number of special exemption acts passed every year had become so great as to practically nullify, in many cases, the intent of the statute. But while it is obviously impossible by any prohibitory measure to prevent appeals to the legislature for exemptions from the provisions of general law, the duty has now been imposed by statute upon the director of the bureau of statistics to examine all bills

introduced for the purpose of authorizing municipalities to borrow outside the debt limit and to transmit to the committee having the matter in charge information as to the financial condition of the petitioning municipality, thus giving the legislature the benefit of an impartial statement of facts furnished by a state department which has no axes to grind and is not biased by any considerations of local politics.

In the legislature of 1914 between January 1 and May 1, the bureau had referred to it and made report upon, under the provisions of the act above referred to, some twelve bills from nine municipalities for authority to incur debt outside the debt limit; but the legislative committee on municipal finance went further than the somewhat narrow requirements of the act and conferred with the department upon a great variety of bills relating to municipal indebtedness, some of which in their original form were very loosely drawn. The policy of the bureau in this matter has been merely to seek to establish a uniform recognition of general principles and to secure the adoption of a standard phraseology in the drafting of technical provisions wherever like conditions prevail,—the legislature being the judge upon the facts in each particular case as to the expediency of granting a municipality authority to incur debt under conditions not recognized by the general statutes. The significance of such a utilization by the law-making body of the resources of a bureau of the state government as an aid to intelligent legislation must be apparent.

I make a brief reference in conclusion to the operation of the law which took effect January 1, 1911, requiring all town notes to be issued on standard forms furnished by the bureau and to be certified by the director of the bureau. This certification is, in effect, a guarantee of the genuineness of the note and while it is not in form a certificate of the legality of the loan, the director is required to withhold his signature, if, in his judgment, the statutes relating to municipal indebtedness have not been properly complied with. In actual practice, this authority was exercised in a single year in the cancellation of notes forwarded for certification amounting to about $350,000. The number of notes certified during the first year of the operation of the law was 1,416; in the following year, 1912, it increased to 1,924; in the year 1913 it rose to 2,336; and in the eight months of 1914 to September 1 it was 1,940. In the three years and eight months since the town note certification act took effect there has been certified a total of 7,616 notes, representing loans aggregating $44,972,376.45 for all purposes permitted by law and including not only temporary revenue loans running for a few months but thirty-year water and sewer loans.

Inasmuch as the certification act applies only to notes and does not include bonds within its scope, the marked increase in the number of notes issued, and the further fact that this is noticeable with respect to

serials, makes it apparent that our towns are resorting more and more to the issue of notes in preference to bonds, even for long-term loans, in order to get the benefit of the examination made by the Bureau of Statistics into the facts of each issue and the accompanying official certification. The success of the act and its popularity among investors seems to be fully attested and the principle was extended by legislation in 1913 so as to provide for the certification of the notes of certain minor taxing divisions known as fire, water, light, and improvement districts. It should be understood, however, that this system of certification by the state of municipal securities does not as yet apply to either the bonds or notes of *cities*, as distinguished from towns or districts. While such an extension of the principle would be quite logical and may eventually take place, the reasons which impelled the passage of the original act relating to towns did not, at the time, apply with equal force to cities.

This review by no means exhausts the scope of the legislation which has recently been placed upon the statute books of Massachusetts with a view to correcting and preventing a recurrence of long-standing abuses in connection with the management of municipal finances, but it includes the most important and those which, on account of the general principles involved, I have assumed might be of more than purely local interest.[4]

[4] See National Municipal Review, volume ii, page 531.

MUNICIPAL INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL IN PRACTICE

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TO WHAT extent have provisions for the initiative, referendum and recall been inserted in the charters of American cities, and to what extent have they been used? These are natural questions; but the answers have never been worked out. Realizing this, I formulated a plan to get the facts. It is well known that since Des Moines combined the initiative, referendum and recall with the commission form of government in 1907, it has been "fashionable" to follow its excellent example. The philosophy is that it is unwise to give unlimited authority to a small body of men without reserving the possibility of final control in the hands of the voters.

As the municipal initiative, referendum and recall are found chiefly in commission-governed cities, for the reason above given, I used the commission-governed cities as the chief basis for my investigation. There are now 335 commission-governed and commission-managed cities in this country. I solicited the authorities of these cities to send me the facts concerning the existence of, and the use of, the initiative, referendum and recall in their respective cities. Some I had to solicit repeatedly. Finally I got the facts from 279 of said list, leaving fifty-six not heard from. It is fair to presume that there has been little, if any, activity in the use of these instruments in the comparatively few cities that failed to report.

Of the 279 municipalities reported, eighteen seem to be entirely without the initiative, referendum or recall. Of the remaining 261 municipalities, 197 have all three; thirty-six have the initiative and referendum; four have the referendum and recall; four have the initiative and recall; two have the initiative only; two have the referendum only and fourteen have the recall only. However, six, not included in the above figures as having the referendum, have a limited referendum for franchises only or bonds only, one having the obligatory referendum on franchises.

In the home rule law which went into effect in New York April 10, 1913, a referendum on franchises is granted to the cities of that state.

On June 30, 1914, the voters of St. Louis, Mo., adopted a new charter

[1] Editor, *The Medical World*; editor, *Equity*. See article "The March of Democracy in Municipalities," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. ii, page 194.

providing for the initiative, referendum and recall on a workable basis, the result giving St. Louis the distinction of being the largest city in the country having these instruments. Sentiment for them was increased by the successful use of the initiative under the old charter last March, in forcing the legislature to complete the Mississippi River bridge. At that time over 50 per cent of the voters signed the initiative petition.

The Michigan home rule law of 1913 grants an interesting method of initiating charter amendments. In his "Organized Democracy," finished in May, 1913, Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland, on page 355 says: "In California eleven cities which do not have the commission form of government have adopted the initiative and referendum."

But the eleven cities in California referred to by Dr. Cleveland, and the home-rule New York and Michigan cities, above mentioned, have not been included in the definite figures given in this article, owing to technical difficulties and the very recent enaction, precluding actual experience.[2]

So much for the plain facts concerning the existence of these measures in the fundamental laws of the cities of this country. How about their use?

Of these 261 municipalities that have these powers, thirty-one have used the initiative, twenty-six have used the referendum and twenty-seven have used the recall. Of the six that have the limited referendum, one has used it on franchises.

The preceding paragraphs contain some figures that will be a surprise to those who consider the initiative, referendum and recall as radical and dangerous instruments for the voters to possess. For example, of the 197 municipalities that possess all three of these instruments, 137 have not used any of them. This, however, does not argue that these instruments are not of value. Hon. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, the editor of the National Municipal Review, said in a lecture delivered at Raleigh, N. C., March 10, 1914, that these measures are "more valuable in their existence than in their use. Their existence impresses a sterner sense of duty and keener thoughts of responsibility in the minds of officials."

With the above explanation, I beg to submit the following summary of uses of these three instruments by the cities to date, according to the above mentioned reports:

[2] The United States of America is a very large country, peopled by a citizenship which is active in many ways, so that if it were possible to have all of the facts concerning the existence and the use of the initiative, referendum and recall in the cities on a given date, another twenty-four hours would perhaps render the statement incomplete in some particular. So the above statement is as complete as it can well be made at any one writing; and so far as known to the writer, it is the first attempt to make a complete collection of these facts. The figures are corrected to September 1, 1914. C. F. T.

Birmingham, Ala. (April, 1911.[3]) Has used the referendum twice: January, 1912, electric light contract; September, 1912, water contract. In both instances the contracts were annulled.

Talladega, Ala. (April, 1911.) Referendum used twice as to bond issues. Several efforts made to use the recall, failed to get a sufficient number of signatures.

Modesto, Cal. (July, 1911.) Initiative: July 10, 1912. 1. Prohibition adopted by vote of 1087 to 1,047. 2. High license; defeated, April 8, 1913. 1. Providing for compensation for members of city council; defeated. 2. "Liquor license under restrictions," adopted by vote of 1,104 to 1,061.

Oakland, Cal. (July, 1911.) Initiative: May 6, 1913, removal of bill-boards; defeated. Against erection dumb animals' home; defeated. April 17, 1914, liquor license regulation; carried. Recall: August 5, 1912, "socialists and I. W. W. against mayor and two commissioners; defeated."

Santa Cruz, Cal. (February, 1911.) Initiative: May 6, 1913. Liquor license ordinance; rejected.

Vallejo, Cal. (July, 1911.) Has used the initiative three times: June 11, 1912. 1. Ordinance prohibiting gambling; adopted. 2. Liquor licenses; rejected. April 1, 1913, liquor licenses; rejected. Referendum has been used once: June 11, 1912, concerning closing certain streets and alleys; adopted. Petitions for the first recall are now being circulated.

Colorado City, Colo. (May, 1913.) Both the initiative (August 4, 1913) and the referendum (October 4, 1913) have been invoked once, concerning the office of city attorney. Neither went to the people, as council preferred to act in order to avoid submission to the people.

Colorado Springs, Colo. (May, 1909.) Initiative: April 5, 1911, ordinance regulating the liquor traffic; adopted. The mayor writes: "This ordinance has been more effective in regulating the liquor traffic than anything ever before adopted in this city." April 15, 1913, four initiative ordinances were voted on: 1. "One day of rest in seven"; carried. 2. "Open theatres on Sunday"; defeated. 3. "Giving restaurants right to serve liquors"; defeated. 4. "Closing street for high school building purposes."

Denver, Colo. (December, 1911.) Neither the initiative, referendum or recall has been invoked by the people under this charter; but in May, 1913, three measures were referred to the people by the council, as follows: 1. Amending charter to provide for commission form of government; carried. 2. Ordinance regulating telephone rates; still in court. 3. Ordinance granting right of way to Burlington railway to lay siding; carried.

Boise, Idaho. (May, 1912.) Referendum: reducing number of saloons; defeated.

Moline, Ill. (April, 1911.) Initiative: July 23, 1912. Telephone franchise; "carried by large majority."

Ottawa, Ill. (May, 1911.) Referendum: April, 1913, paving; carried. Two other questions have been referred to the people (date not given), both concerning the interurban railway; sustained by large majorities as passed by council.

Springfield, Ill. (January, 1911.) Initiative: January 27, 1914, for "placing generator at city water-works pumping station to enable the city to enter the commercial lighting field"; carried. Referendum: December, 1911, several ordinances concerning regulation of salaries. "Council sustained in all by a vote of about 3 to 1." Recall: Attempt to recall commissioner Spaulding was made in 1912; required number of signatures not obtained.

Spring Valley, Ill. (February, 1911.) Referendum: "Once on question of paving cities; council sustained."

[3] The dates of the charter follow the names of the cities. Editor.

Burlington, Iowa. (April, 1910.) Referendum, "about two years ago" concerning electric wiring. Council withdrew same without an election.

Marshalltown, Iowa. (Operating under state law.) One attempt has been made to recall the mayor; failed.

Cherryvale, Kan. (Operating under state law.) Initiative, April, 1913, concerning closing of pool halls; commission refused to pass, mayor voting in favor, both commissioners against; carried by the people. Recall, one attempt to recall mayor and finance commissioner, attempt covering April to September, 1913. First filing, names on petition insufficient; refiled, and names again insufficient; district court appealed to, and clerk's decision that names were insufficient was sustained. So the attempt at recall failed.

Emporia, Kan. (Operating under state law.) Initiative, April, 1911, concerning electric light; carried.

Kansas City, Kan. Initiative, concerning building of street car line. "The commission did not cause the signatures to be checked up, but passed the ordinance." Thus the petitions served to inform the commission of the views of the people, after which the commission responded.

Pratt, Kan. Referendum: July, 1913, fixing electric light rates. "Ordinance 'knocked out!'" Recall: September, 1913, unsuccessful attempt to recall the mayor.

Lexington, Ky. (Acting under general law of 1910.) Referendum: "On ordinance directing sale of electric franchise; ordinance voted on at first November election and defeated. Ordinance passed September 22, 1913, and defeated at general election November 5, 1913."

Lawrence, Mass. (January, 1912.) Referendum: Concerning reimbursement to W. J. Ward of $350 for labor, etc., on dam of the Merrimack river. Regular city election December 9, 1913. Result: Yes 6,251, no 1,792, blanks 2,035. Recall: School committeeman, J. J. Breen, was recalled at special election October 1, 1912.

Pontiac, Mich. (January, 1911.) Initiative: Arpil 4, 1911, putting $3,000 in budget for benefit of Pontiac Association; carried. April 5, 1912, "riding on sidewalks with bicycles"; carried. April 5, 1913, putting $2,520 in budget for benefit of Pontiac commercial bank; carried. April 6, 1914, "providing for municipal ownership"; carried. Recall: "Attempt was made to recall the first mayor, R. J. Lounsbury, but did not materalize."

Duluth, Minn. (April, 1913.) Referendum: September, 1913; regulating liquor traffic; carried.

Missoula, Mont. (July, 1911.) Initiative: General election 1912, on question of closing saloon on Sundays; carried.

Lincoln, Neb. ("1887 and amended several times since.") Initiative: "On liquor question spring of 1909, 1911 and 1913." Results not given. Referendum: "On gas compromise, December 14, 1912. Referred by council." Result not given.

Nebraska City, Neb. Recall: "Our chairman was recalled in November, 1913."

Omaha, Neb. Initiative: Seven street car fares for 25 cents was submitted to a vote at an election held March 10, 1914; carried.

Long Branch, N. J. (April, 1903.) The city has accepted the I., R. and R. provisions of the Walsh commission government law of 1911. Initiative: November 4, 1913. Establishment of a public market; carried. Referendum: November 5, 1912, Sunday closing ordinance; defeated. Recall: "Petitions filed with city clerk and certioraried to supreme court."

Ocean City, N. J. (Under Walsh law of 1911.) "Have had the initiative and referendum invoked a number of times, possibly two each, with satisfactory results. No recalls have been made or attempted."

Greensboro, N. C. (March, 1911.) Initiative: 1911; establishment of a municipally owned and operated meat market, the city to buy and sell meat; defeated.

MANDAN, N. D. (Under state law.) Recall: One unsuccessful attempt.

MINOT, N. D. (January, 1909.) Recall: October 18, 1913, "socialists invoked recall of mayor and one commissioner; but they were re-elected, and one socialist commissioner was recalled."

BARTLESVILLE, OKLA. (August, 1910.) Recall: September 14, 1911. Attempt to recall mayor and two city commissioners. Failed on account of insufficiency of petition.

DUNCAN, OKLA. (June, 1910.) Recall: Attempt to recall mayor in 1912; failed ("vote about 3 to 1 in his favor.").

GUTHRIE, OKLA. (May, 1911.) Initiative: "One time petitions were filed for amendment to charter—substantially a recall of commissioners; "petitions insufficient. Recall: "Twice petitions have been filed for recall of commissioners, but always insufficient." Mayor J. E. Nissley says: "All of above are dangerous weapons for local politicians."

MCALESTER, OKLA. (July, 1910.) Mayor recalled. Date not given.

MUSKOGEE, OKLA. Recall: "June, 1913, an attempt was made to recall the mayor and two commissioners, but attempt failed absolutely."

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA. (March, 1911.) Recall: "Been tried twice but requisite petitions never obtained. Is on again now for recall of mayor."

SAPULPA, OKLA. (May, 1912.) Initiative, November, 1912, and May, 1913, concerning bond issues; March, 1912, charter amendment, results not stated.

BAKER, ORE. (October, 1910.) Initiative: November, 1912 to change back to councilmanic form of government; failed by large majority.

LA GRANDE, ORE. (October, 1913.) City manager plan. The new charter of October 1, 1913, providing for the city manager plan was obtained by the Initiative. Also the preceding charter.

PORTLAND, ORE. (1903.) "But amended several times since and generally revised in May, 1913, providing for commission form of government."

INITIATIVE: June 3, 1907. 1. Franchise to Economy gas co.; for, 8,650, against, 5,265. 2. Regulating electrical wiring. For, 5,560, against, 7,619. June 7, 1909. 1. Regulating electrical wiring. For, 8,135, against, 6,462. 2. $450,000 Market street bridge. For, 2,229, against, 13,724. 3. $1,500,000 bonds for Sherman street bridge. For, 3,241, against, 12,258. 4. Prohibiting patented articles in public improvements. For, 2,735, against, 12,150. 5. Liquor franchise to Gothenberg Association. For, 1,099, against, 15,012. 6. Municipal light and power bonds, For 6,039, against 9,684.

June 5, 1911. 1. No seat in street-car, no fare; for, 8,714, against, 17,022. 2. Levy license on gross receipts of gas companies; for, 13,655, against, 10,551. 3. Levy license on gross receipts of electrical companies; for, 13,370; against, 10,563e. 4. Act to create public service commission; for, 11,206, against, 11,691. 5. Bond issue of $1,000,000 for municipal paving plant; for, 8,448, against, 15,712. 6. Protecting public water-front properties; for, 14,749, against, 8,198. 7. Regulating of bill boards; for, 15,127, against, 9,504. 8. Proposed change in street improvement proceedings; for, 11,868, against, 10,729.

November 2, 1912. 1. Act to adopt the "short charter"; for, 3,583, against, 21,072.

June 2, 1913. 1. Pension fund for firemen; for, 27,953, against, 14,400. 2. Street-car franchise to G. F. Heusner; for, 14,867, against, 25,369. 3. Revoking Oregon-California railroad co. right-of-way on East 1st street; for, 15,972, against, 21,067. 4. Granting O. R. & Navigation Co. to lay tracks on East 1st street; for, 15,942, against, 20,212.

REFERENDUM: June 7, 1909. 1. Referendum demanded on vehicle ordinance (No. 17,414); for 7,314, against 8,129. June 5, 1911. 2. Referendum demanded on banner ordinance (No. 21,694); for, 8,246, against, 16,626. 3. Referendum demanded on

boycott ordinance (No. 21,933); for, 12,098, against, 12,854. November 2, 1912. 4. Referendum demanded on ordinance (No. 25,930), granting the Northwestern electric company a franchise; for, 23,871, against, 1,947.

Recall: June 5, 1911. Councilman; successful.

Aberdeen, S. D. (Organized under state law.) Initiative: 1. April 16, 1912. "An amendment to ordinance No. 274 relating to the maximum rates which may be charged consumers of electric current for light and power"; defeated. 2. May 28, 1912. "An amendment to ordinance No. 274 relating to the maximum rates which may be charged consumers of electric current for light and power;" carried. Referendum: August 23, 1910. "Ordinance No. 338 creating a detective bureau;" carried. Recall: Recall of commissioner. Defeated at election September 26, 1911."

Huron, S. D. Recall attempted. Date not given. "The commissioner was sustained by a large majority."

Rapid City, S. D. (Commission form adopted 1910.) Five commissioners. Election called for February 17, 1914, to see if change shall be made to three commissioners. Initiative: Date not given. Municipal court proposed; defeated. Recall: February, 1913. General recall of all commissioners by "wide open town" supporters. All commissioners re-elected.

Sioux Falls, S. D. (July, 1911.) Initiative: "Once, December 20, 1912, on resolution awarding contract for city printing to the *Sioux Falls Journal*, defeated." Referendum: "Twice. April 16, 1914. On 'fool hall' ordinance; sustained. April 16 1914. On ordinance for a vaiduct; defeated." Recall: September 24, 1912. Street commissioner; recalled. August 12, 1913. Water and sewer commissioner; defeated.

Yankton, S. D. (Charter, May, 1910.) Referendum: April 15, 1913. 1. Concerning accepting the bid of the Chicago bridge & iron works for steel tanks; carried. 2. Concerning granting permit to sell intoxicating liquors at retail; defeated.

Chattanooga, Tenn. (1911.) Referendum: 1. January, 1912. King street franchise; defeated. 2. October 6, 1913. Gas company franchise; defeated.

Dallas, Texas. (April, 1907.) It will be seen that Dallas has been quite enterprising in the use of the "democratic trinity," as the following report shows:

Initiative: Ordinances voted on April 7, 1908: To establish a minimum wage of $2.00 per day for a day's work of eight hours for all work done for the city; for, 2,977, against, 3,768. Providing that all employes of the city shall be selected for their qualifications for the work required irrespective of their religious or political opinions; for, 4,043, against, 2,575. Regulating the fare to be charged by street car companies to passengers who are not provided with seats within two blocks after entering the car—that not more than two cents fare shall be collected from such passengers, for, 2,362, against, 4,345. To appropriate $50,000 out of the general fund for building and equipping a municipal light and power plant; for, 1,319, against, 2,318. Ordinances voted on April 5, 1910: that no street car company shall charge more than three cents fare for any passenger who is not provided with a seat within two blocks from the point at which he enters the car; for, 1,882, against, 1,943. Providing a penalty of $100 for the violation of the eight hour provision of the charter; for, 1,473, against, 2,220. Creating the office of public defender; for, 1,547, against, 2,195. Providing that no telephone company shall charge more than five dollars for a single line business telephone nor more than two dollars per month for single line residence telephone; for, 2,274, against, 1,518. For the issuance of $100,000 bonds to establish an electric light and power plant in connection with the waterworks of the city; for, 1,070, against, 1,946. Ordinances voted on April 2, 1912: Requiring saloons to be closed between 7.30 P. M. and 7 A. M. each week day and between the hours of 7.30 P. M. on Saturday and 7 o'clock A. M. the following Monday; for, 4,237, against, 4,917. Defining public places of amusement, li-

censing same; for, 6,198, against, 2,752. Requiring street railways to sell not less than seven (7) street car tickets for 25 cents and requiring street railways to charge not more than 3 cents fare unless passengers are provided with seats within two blocks of the point at which said passenger enters the car; for, 4,910, against, 3,769. Requiring the securing of estimates on the cost of installing an electric light and power plant; for, 5,088, against, 3,122. Providing for the enforcement of the eight-hour provision of the charter; for, 5,387, against, 2,962. Requiring the installation of a municipal register of the unemployed for, 5,204, against, 3,182.

Referendum: Ordinance voted on April 13, 1908: Ordinance granting franchise to A. J. Brown et al for a telephone system; for, 4,564, against, 2,312.

Recall: Election August 11, 1910. Petition filed to recall John W. George and John C. Mann, members board education as candidates to succeed themselves as members board of education, as above, John W. George received 1,662 votes; John C. Mann received 1,666 votes. As candidates to succeed George and Mann under recall petition J. D. Carter received 2,112 votes and J. B. McCraw received 2,107 votes. George and Mann were consequently recalled as members of the board of education.

Recall Election April 4, 1911. Petition filed to recall C. C. Lane, president board of education; C. C. Lane, candidate to succeed himself, received 4,814 votes; E. A. Belsterling, candidate to succeed C. C. Lane, received 5,435 votes.

Petition filed to recall L. R. Wright, H. D. Ardrey, Shearon Bonner as members, board education. As candidates to succeed themselves under recall petition as above, as members board education, L. R. Wright received 5,012 votes; H. D. Ardrey received 4,974 votes; Shearon Bonner received 4,934 votes. As candidates to succeed Wright, Ardrey and Bonner as members, Frank Gilbert received 5,334 votes; M. A. Turner received 5,301 votes; W. A. Goode received 5,286 votes. L. R. Wright, H. D. Ardrey and Shearon Bonner were recalled as members of the board of education. Frank Gilbert, M. A. Turner and W. A. Goode elected members board education to succeed Wright, Ardrey and Bonner, recalled.

Petition filed to recall J. D. Carter and J. B. McCraw as members board education. Under recall petition, as candidates to succeed themselves as above J. D. Carter received 5,304 votes; J. B. McCraw received 5,238. As candidates to succeed Carter and McCraw, George M. Stewart received 4,980 votes and John W. Pope received 4,923. Carter and McCraw were elected to succeed themselves as members of the board.

Austin, Tex. (March, 1909.) Initiative: Once. Subject not given. Referendum: Twice on franchises and three times upon bond issues. Dates and results not given. Recall: One unsuccessful attempt.

Corpus Christi, Tex. (March, 1909.) Initiative: Date not given "relative to a gas franchise which the city council refused to consider. It was adopted by the people by a large majority."

Greenville, Tex. (March, 1907.) Initiative and referendum for franchises only on demand of 200 qualified voters. Invoked twice; dates not given. Greenville street railway and light co., and the Eastern Texas traction co. Council upheld in both instances.

Hoquiam, Wash. (August, 1911.) Recall: April 24, 1912. "Recall petition charging Mayor Ferguson with incompetency, signed by 866 persons, filed with city clerk. May 22, 1912, primary election was held. Smith 265 votes, Knoell 1,180. On June 3, 1912, general election. Ferguson recalled by following vote: Knoell, 1,360, Ferguson, 870."

North Yakima, Wash. (September, 1911.) Initiative: November 9, 1912. Concerning sale of intoxicating liquors; lost by a small majority.

Spokane, Wash. (December, 1910.) Initiative: November 4, 1913. 1. City wage scale, $3; carried. 2. City wage scale, $2.75; lost. 3. Double platoon system; carried.

Tacoma, Wash. (October, 1909.) Initiative: April 1912, to discontinue laying water mains by local improvement district plan; "carried, but was illegal and not effective." April, 1914, to amend charter to provide two-platoon system for firemen; "defeated at the election." Referendum: "In 1911, on an ordinance to prohibit treating in saloons. It was upheld by the people in popular vote." Recall: "In 1911, an attempt was made to recall the entire commission. The mayor and two commissioners were recalled, and two retained their seats. An attempt was made to get up a recall on the mayor in 1912, but it was dropped. An attempt is now (May 5, 1914) being made to get up a recall on two commissioners."

Walla Walla, Wash. (September, 1911.) Recall: One attempt summer of 1913; unsuccessful, as petition was insufficient.

Janesville, Wis. (April, 1912.) Recall: July 22, 1913. Attempt to recall the mayor "for enforcing laws and ordinances"; mayor sustained.

Ladysmith, Wis. (April, 1913.) "We are just ready to vote on location of water works, which is the first question we have referred to the people under commission form of government. We have only been under this form since April."

Oshkosh, Wis. (I., R. and R. provided for by state law and not in individual charter.) Referendum: Fall of 1912, general election. Shall city own water works?; carried by an overwhelming majority.

Superior, Wis. Recall: "Petitions have been circulated three times in twelve months; April, 1913, July, 1913, at it now. Never have been able to get the necessary signatures. Alleged reason, failure to close red light district."

The recall was first used in Los Angeles, Cal., and has been used prominently in Seattle, Wash. For extensive details concerning the same the reader is referred to the following sources:

"Conservative Aspects of the Recall," H. S. Gilbertson, N. M. R., vol. i, page 204.

"The Actual Workings of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall," Dr. John R. Haynes, N. M. R., vol. i, page 586.

Buffalo is to vote in November on a new commission charter providing for the referendum. Toledo, in November, will vote on a charter providing for the recall of the mayor. The legislature of Louisiana, this year, has taken the step of authorizing its parishes to adopt a three-commissioner form of government in which the initiative, referendum and recall are provided.

We see in this review a safe, healthy and commendable exercise of direct powers of the voters in the public affairs of municipalities. These powers have not been abused, as is plainly seen by the large number of municipalities which have these powers, but which have never used them; and in the fact that in no place has their use been "cranky" or excessive. These powers have been used rather freely in Portland, Oregon, and in Dallas, Texas, but we have no evidence that there is any sentiment in these places for the abolition of these powers on account of their somewhat free use. On the contrary, we may reasonably assume that the use of these powers is an evidence of their appreciation—when there is occasion for their use.

If these powers of public control of public affairs and of officers had come sooner into the municipal life of this nation, would municipal mismanagement and corruption have become a national disgrace? I think

not. I hope for and predict the continued rapid extension of the initiative, referendum and recall until they will be in the charter of every municipality under the stars and stripes. The modern American spirit demands that the public, through the electorate, shall have power to control public affairs and officers, whenever, in the judgment of the electorate, there is occasion to do so.[4]

[4] For further information on this subject in the pages of this magazine, see "The Initiative, Referendum and Recall in San Francisco," Dr. E. A. Walcott, N. M. R., vol. ii, page 467.

"The Oregon System at Work," Richard W. Montague, N. M. R., vol. iii, page 256.

carried.

SHORT ARTICLES

A REVIEW OF SIGNIFICANT FACTS IN THE PRESENT CENSUS OF CITIES

WHILE the total increase in the population of the United States (continental) in the decade 1900–1910 was about sixteen million [1] (15,977,691), being an increase of 21 per cent, that for urban territory [2] was more than eleven million (11,013,738), or 34.8 per cent, and that for rural territory was less than five million (4,963,953), or 11.2 per cent. Thus it appears that 68.9 per cent of the increase in population was made in the cities. Furthermore, this is on the assumption that all urban territory in 1910 was urban in 1900. This avoids the shifting of cities from rural to urban territory between the years of comparison.

This urban population in 1910 was 46.3 per cent of the total, while 8.8 per cent more resided in incorporated places of less than 2,500 inhabitants. More than one fifth of the total population resided in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants and about one tenth (9.2 per cent) in the three cities of more than one million. If we consider the metropolitan districts, including in each case, beside the central city, those suburbs which belong industrially to the city and in which the city's life is dominant, we find 14.6 per cent of the total population in metropolitan districts of more than one million inhabitants.

The question arises at once, what are the sources contributing to this increase in the population of the cities? The nature of the population as it existed in 1910, classified according to color and nativity, appears in Table I.[3] This shows the difference in composition between the urban and rural population.

[1] The figures in this paper are taken directly or are derived from the abstract of the Thirteenth Census and two volumes of the Twelfth.

[2] Urban population is defined by the Census Bureau as "that residing in cities and other incorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more including New England towns of that population."

[3] The states are grouped in geographical sections as follows: New England; middle Atlantic including New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania; south Atlantic including the other states on the Atlantic seaboard and West Virginia; east north central including Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin; west north central including those states north of Oklahoma and between the Mississippi river and the Rocky Mountains; east south central between the south Atlantic states and the Mississippi river; west south central including Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana and Texas; Mountain and Pacific. For convenience east is used to include New England and the middle Atlantic states, north to include the east and west north central states, west to include the mountain and Pacific states, south to include the south Atlantic and the east and west south central states.

TABLE I [4]

PER CENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO NATIVITY AND RACE

	NATIVE PARENTAGE	FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE	FOREIGN-BORN	NEGRO
U. S.: Total	53.8	20.5	14.5	10.7
Rural	64.1	13.3	7.5	14.5
Urban	41.9	29.0	22.6	6.3
East	42.8	29.6	25.6	1.9
Rural	67.4	17.5	13.8	1.1
Urban	34.2	33.7	29.3	2.1
North	54.5	27.8	15.7	1.9
Rural	62.7	24.7	11.3	0.9
Urban	44.5	31.6	21.0	2.9
South	63.2	4.3	2.5	29.8
Rural	65.4	2.5	1.5	30.3
Urban	55.5	10.6	5.8	28.0
West	52.4	24.5	10.0	0.7
Rural	56.2	21.3	17.6	0.3
Urban	48.3	27.3	21.1	1.2

We see that in the United States as a whole not quite 42 per cent of the total urban population are native whites of native parentage, 29 per cent are native whites of foreign or mixed parentage, 22.6 per cent are foreign-born whites and 6.3 per cent are Negroes. On the other hand, 64 per cent of the total rural population are native whites of native parentage and only 7.5 per cent are foreign-born whites. In the east the differences are even greater, only 34.2 per cent of the urban population being native whites of native parentage while this group constitutes 67.4 per cent of the rural population. To use a phrase of the census report, the "foreign-born whites and their children" constitute 63 per cent of the population of the eastern states. Only in the south is this group much less than one half of the urban population.

Perhaps of more importance than the present condition is the nature of the increase. In Table II is shown the total rate of increase and the

TABLE II

RATES OF INCREASE IN THE DECADE IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN CITIES OF VARIOUS SIZES

	TOTAL	NATIVE PARENTAGE	FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE	FOREIGN-BORN	NEGRO
United States	21.0	20.9	20.8	30.7	11.2
Cities of 500,000 or more	29.0	21.8	25.4	40.6	29.5
100,000–500,000	39.7	54.1	35.6	33.9	29.8
25,000–100,000	40.3	45.2	32.3	43.9	31.8

[4] The sum of these per cents is not quite 100 because of the Indian, Chinese, Japanese and other races not listed in this table.

rate of increase in each of the classes of population according to nativity in cities of various sizes.

The whites of native parentage have increased less rapidly than any of the other classes in cities of more than half a million inhabitants,—in fact only 1 per cent greater than in the country as a whole—while in the same cities the foreign-born population has increased most rapidly. The cities whose population is greater than 25,000 and less than 500,000 have grown much more rapidly than the larger ones, the rate of increase being about 40 per cent. In these cities the increase in the native white population of native parentage is more rapid than that of any of the other classes. It appears that this element is going to the medium sized cities and the foreign-born element is coming to the large cities.

In this case the actual numbers are fully as illuminating as the per cents. In Table III, from which Table II was derived, it is seen that the increase in the number of foreign-born whites in the eight cities of more than a half a million inhabitants exceeds that in all of the other 221 cities

TABLE III

Increase in the United States and in Cities of Various Sizes

	TOTAL	NATIVE PARENTAGE	FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE	FOREIGN-BORN	NEGRO
United States	15,977,691	8,539,213	3,251,820	3,131,728	993,769
500,000 or more	2,604,000	527,750	867,267	1,118,043	90,478
100,000–500,000	2,498,765	1,200,722	723,232	518,487	144,131
25,000–100,000	2,367,523	1,175,941	533,741	507,259	145,322

whose population is over 25,000, and is more than one third of the total increase of foreign-born whites in the United States. On the other hand, the increase in the number of native whites of native parentage in these eight cities is less than one fourth (22.2 per cent) of that in the other cities of more than 25,000, in fact less than half of that in either of the two classes of cities given in the table.

The increase in native whites of foreign or mixed parentage in the largest cities is greater in actual numbers than that in the other two classes of cities but is a smaller proportional gain than that in either of the others, and only slightly greater than the increase in the native whites of native parentage as appears in Table II.

During the decade 1890–1900 the foreign-born element of the population increased only 1,091,716 or 11.8 per cent. This was notably less than the increase during the decade 1880–1890 which was 2,569,617. During the last ten years the increase has been greater than that during any earlier decade, 3,174,610 or 30.7 per cent. Now the foreign-born constitute 14.7 per cent of our population, this being just the proportion in 1890.

In Table IV is shown the per cent of the increase of the foreign-born population in comparison with that during the preceding decades. In the last column of Table IV is given the per cent of the total population living in cities having more than 100,000 inhabitants. The similarity to the numbers in the preceding columns is rather striking.

TABLE IV

	PER CENT INCREASE 1900–1910	PER CENT INCREASE 1890–1900	PER CENT INCREASE 1880–1890	INHABITANTS OF CITIES
New England	12.0			7.9
Middle Atlantic	48.3			42.3
East		80.1	41.8	
East North Central	14.2			23.4
West North Central	2.6			7.7
North		9.0	44.5	
South Atlantic	2.6			5.8
East South Central	−0.1			2.9
West South Central	2.7			1.8
South		3.3	1.9	
Mountain	4.8			1.1
Pacific	13.0			8.2
West		6.9	10.5	

The proportion of foreign-born whites living in urban and rural districts and in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants is given in Table V.

TABLE V

PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE IN URBAN AND RURAL TERRITORY AND IN CITIES OF 100,000

	RURAL	URBAN	CITIES
United States	27.8	72.2	43.6
New England	7.6	92.4	31.6
Middle Atlantic	16.1	83.9	61.1
East North Central	28.6	71.4	46.1
West North Central	60.8	39.2	19.9
South Atlantic	34.0	66.0	39.8
East South Central	33.3	66.7	52.8
West South Central	60.8	39.2	26.3
Mountain	60.3	39.7	19.8
Pacific	38.7	61.3	47.5

In that part of the United States between the Mississippi river and the Pacific states about 61 per cent of this group live in the country, but in all other parts by far the greater number is in urban territory,—the per cent ranging from 61.3 in the Pacific states to 92.4 in New England. Just slightly more than one fifth of the total foreign-born white population of the United States is in New York and Chicago, New York having 14.5 per cent.

The distribution of the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage must, of course, be affected somewhat by the distribution of foreign-born, and very much by the distribution of foreign-born of two, three and four decades ago. These two elements enter into the present distribution so much that it is impossible to make any inferences regarding the direction of change in residence of this group from the increase in its numbers in any class of cities or in any geographical section.

The population of this class in every section of the country, both urban and rural, is less than that of native parentage and greater than that of the foreign-born. (Table I.) In every section the proportion of this class which is urban is greater than that of the native whites of native parentage. In the east and north it is slightly less than that of the foreign-born, and in the west and south it issl ightly greater. On the other hand, the rate of increase of this class in cities is less than that of the native parentage and only about two thirds that of the foreign-born. (Table II.)

The negro race represents 10.7 per cent of the total population, the proportion continuing the decrease which has been almost uniform since 1810. The proportion was 11.6 per cent in 1900 and 11.9 per cent in 1890.

Of the total negro population 27.4 per cent is urban. In 1900 22.7 per cent was urban. In the south the negroes are country-dwellers, but in every other section of the country the proportion of the negro population which is urban exceeds that of any other class except that of the foreign-born in the east and there the difference is very small. If we may speak of the south as the American home of the negro, 89 per cent of the race being in the south, it appears that when the negro emigrates he goes to the city. This corresponds to the experience of the whites as shown by the preponderance of the urban population among the foreign-born whites. The cities of the south show a slightly larger increase in negro population than those of the rest of the country. The cities whose population is between 100,000 and 500,000 in the south have an increase of 31.4 per cent in negro population while the corresponding increase for cities of that size in the country as a whole is 29.8 per cent. This tendency does not appear among the whites, the numbers for comparison with these being 37.4 and 43.1 respectively.

Table VI shows the distribution of the negro element of the population, urban and rural, for the different sections of the country.

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES

	TOTAL	URBAN	RURAL
North and East	1,027,674	794,966	232,708
South	8,749,427	1,854,455	6,894,972
West	50,662	39,808	10,854

The comparison between the white and the Negro population, urban and rural, and the respective rates of increase is made in Table VII. Here the comparison is made of the conditions at the two times as they then existed, there being more cities in the urban territory in 1910 than in 1900.

TABLE VII

NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATION

	NEGRO		WHITE	
	1910	1900	1910	1900
Total	9,827,763	8,833,994	81,731,957	66,809,196
Rural	7,138,534	6,829,873	41,900,944	38,303,050
Urban	2,689,229	2,004,121	39,831,913	28,506,146

	INCREASE		PER CENT INCREASE			
	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO		WHITE	
			1910	1900	1910	1900
Total	999,769	14,922,761	11.2	18.0	22.3	21.2
Rural	308,661	3,596,994	4.5	13.7	9.4	12.4
Urban	685,108	11,325,767	34.2	35.2	39.7	35.7

While the per cent increase of the Negro population is only about half of that of the white population (11.2 and 22.3 respectively), yet the per cents of increase in the cities are not very different (34.2 and 39.7). During the preceding decade the rates of increase of the Negro and white elements were much more nearly the same. During that time the rate of increase in the number of Negroes in the rural territory was materially greater than that in the number of whites and during the last decade it is less than half. This result may be partly due to incomplete returns in 1890.

To discover whether these differences were due to locality or to race, since most of the Negro population is in the south, Table VIII was made, corresponding exactly to Table VII but dealing with the south alone

TABLE VIII

NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATION IN THE SOUTH

	NEGRO		WHITE	
	1910	1900	1910	1900
Total	8,749,427	7,922,969	20,547,420	16,521,970
Rural	6,894,972	6,558,173	15,785,957	13,470,054
Urban	1,845,455	1,364,796	4,761,463	3,051,916

	INCREASE		PER CENT INCREASE			
	NEGRO	WHITE	NEGRO		WHITE	
			1910	1900	1910	1900
Total	826,458	4,025,450	10.4	17.2	24.4	25.2
Rural	336,799	2,315,903	5.1	14.6	17.2	22.9
Urban	489,659	1,709,547	35.9	31.8	56.0	36.7

instead of with the whole United States. The differences are accentuated. The rates of increase in the white population both urban and rural are very much greater in the south than throughout the country and those of the Negro population are about the same.

It may be added that the greatest drift of the Negroes is to the largest cities. In 1900 7.6 per cent of the race was living in cities of more than 100,000 while in 1910 10.4 per cent was in such cities, showing a migration of 2.8 per cent of the whole number into the large cities. The increased proportion in the smaller cities was less than half as much.

W. O. Mendenhall.

Earlham, Indiana.

MOVING PICTURES AS A FACTOR IN MUNICIPAL LIFE.[1]

OUR memories carry us back to the friends we made and the experiences we enjoyed as children. Saturdays and vacations were full of joy. The afternoons and evenings spent in play were our most delightful experiences. As we think about it now, we grew as we played. Our imaginations, emotions, brains and bodies all expanded. The hours of relaxation and recreation are the times in which we live. Work provides the necessities.

The uses to which leisure time is put in our cities determine their

[1] Municipal Use of Moving Pictures. The moving pictures are every day demonstrating their usefulness in a practical way as well as from an amusement point of view. As *The Municipal Journal* points out, actual operations in road construction and other engineering work are now shown by this medium at society meetings; the schools are using them for instruction purposes; and missionaries are teaching the heathen Bible stories by means of them. One week, it is reported, a missing city official whose absence is worrying his friends will be sought by having his photograph shown in 10,000 moving picture places by Pathe's Weekly, in the hope that some one of the millions of spectators may have seen him. This suggests, as *The Journal* says, that the police might use the same means for tracing fugitives, criminal or otherwise. Moving pictures showing the gait and bearing, as well as the features of criminals, might be filed in the rogues' gallery and used for this purpose.

Still another municipal use is the teaching of the ignorant (and others) how to vote. A moving picture showing a voter entering, receiving, marking and depositing the ballot, and showing large a copy of a correctly marked ballot, might not only relieve the attendants at the polling place of much trouble and shorten the time required per ballot, but would probably result in bringing out voters whom timidity of the unfamiliar might otherwise have kept at home. "*The Journal* suggests" that every city arrange to have shown at every moving picture place, at each performance for a week preceding election, a short film illustrating voting, challenging, etc., at a booth similar to the one used by them, ending with a large picture showing a properly marked ballot. There would always be a number of new voters, either just of age or newly made citizens or women just enfranchised, or others who have moved from places where the voting methods or ballot are somewhat different, to whom this instruction would be very welcome.

moral tone. The great mass of people do not cry as they did in Rome for corn and games. They have no desire to have a paternalistic government or a philanthropic class hold them in leash with sports. They rather want the opportunity, in a self-respecting way, to enjoy themselves according to the dictates of their consciences and with due respect for their incomes.

We sometimes forget the great middle class in our cities, the eight tenths lying between the depraved and submerged tenth and the few who belong to the monied and intellectual aristocrats. It was Lincoln who said, "The Lord must love the common people because he made so many of them." It is the common people to whom the motion picture appeals. This great civic majority has long hours of work, the unending round of household duties and slim pocketbooks. Let us not forget they have the same desire for relaxation and amusement as the well-to-do and coupled with it a vital sense of self-respect.

How is it possible for the working man and his wife, the mechanic and his girl to attend the ordinary theatre? The price of admission excludes them. They have been looking for entertainment for decades and have found it in the home or on the street. Millions of the masses have welcomed the motion picture as a form of theatre well within their means and the equal, if not the superior, of the ordinary theatrical production.

These men and women who make up the bulk of the life of our cities are thoroughly independent. There is an active or a passive resistance to those who patronize them or offer them unpaid pleasures with supervision and limitations. They do not want milk and water entertainment. When the opportunity appears to pick their pleasures and pay their way, they respond.

Let us be certain of the fact that the people will have some place where they may obtain pleasure, relaxation and inspiration on an independent and self-respecting basis. Various charities and philanthropies have failed because they lack this element of freedom. Working men have turned to the saloon. Here they have found fellowship, joyousness, comrades, discussion and sociability with independence. But the saloon has brought with it attending evils to the individual and it excludes the family.

The people throng the parks in the summer time. The young people gather in numbers in the dance halls and academies. Every summer afternoon and evening finds them in hundreds of thousands at Coney Island and other resorts. Why? Because they can obtain the maximum of pleasure with the small sums they have in hand. Winter and summer, in cities like Chicago and New York, they fill the 1,300 or 1,400 motion picture houses three times a day.

If one runs over in his mind the various forms of entertainment, both commercial and otherwise, in the cities, he will find that most of them

tend to break down the family. They split society into age and sex groups. The motion picture show, on the other hand, has its appeal for father, mother and the little ones. Some exhibitors in Brooklyn, the city of baby carriages, maintain a department for checking the scores of carriages left by mothers who crave a change from the details of home work, but who must have their offspring with them. After the day's work, the fathers and mothers gather with their children before the motion picture screen to quaff deep draughts of life. Tired muscles and weary nerves are recreated. The powerful actions and motives of life pass before them. They dream their dreams and see their visions as the skillful artist depicts the thrilling situations of other lives. While the interest is sustained, minds are busy. Interest brings enlightenment. Who can tell how the spirit of a man grows! Certainly this new form of art takes its place as a great spiritual force.

Editorial writers call attention to a fact which liquor men have known for months. With the growth of the "movies" the profits of saloons have fallen off. The detached man finds it quite as possible to drop in to the motion picture theatre as to the saloon. For the price of the drink, he can sit for two hours and thoroughly enjoy himself. While the philanthropists have been searching for some form of substitute for the café and saloon, this transformation has been going on before their eyes. Horace Bushnell talked of the expulsive power of a new affection. Here we have it illustrated. Where coffee houses, modified saloons, charitable entertainments and rest rooms have failed, the motion picture show has prospered.

Let us not suppose that the ignorant and the circumscribed alone are going to the "movies." It has something to offer to persons of every station in life. Indeed, its field is more extended than that of the opera, the theatre and the vaudeville combined. For ten cents, one can see Vesuvius in eruption, the animals of Africa in their natural state, Napoleon at Waterloo, the battle of the Monitor and Merrimac, or Samson, that foolish prophet of the Jews.

A cultured group, some months ago, gathered to follow the life of Wagner and to hear the strains of his opera as the places were exhibited where he wrote them. It is equally possible to lay siege to the walls of Troy or to pass through London streets with Charles Dickens and his marvelous characters. The epic creations of Zola stand forth in all their tragedy and gloom. Minnehaha and Hiawatha charm the eye as Longfellow stirred the imagination. Thousands of persons who have never read Les Miserables now follow Father Madeleine through his tragic life.

There are, also, among the artists who provide films for the entertainment of the masses, those who depict Biblical situations as Tissot, Von Uhde, Dore, Hoffman and Hunt could never do. On the motion picture

screen, these stories stand out with all their human, dramatic and ethical values.

Educators are now being convinced that the "movie" has something for their children. Classes in botany, nature study, physics, biography and history now see with their own eyes what was indistinct on the written page. With a new zest, they come back to their books because they realize that these things really exist. In an afternoon, they can see the intimate life of African tribes, the pulsation of the human heart, or the microscopic life in a drop of water.

As the Jones family and their friends around the corner sit beside each other after the day's work, they can see illustrated some of the great social and industrial subjects of controversy and as they go home they can discuss pictures which clarify the opinions they have heard expressed by speakers from platforms and in meetings of the union or have read in the papers.

The motion picture film now makes it possible to arouse the great middle class to the need of sanitation. They learn what municipal experts now mean by clean streets, city planning, protection from impure milk and tuberculosis and the work of the visiting nurse; mothers consider more feasible enlightened methods of caring for and feeding their babies. The motion picture becomes a great silent social worker.

In some cities, like Omaha, carefully prepared programs are arranged for children. Mothers feel safe in allowing their little ones to watch these specialized programs. In other cities the public schools are opening their doors to the people of the neighborhoods where they may look at pictures or find other forms of self-respecting relaxation and entertainment in social centers. The picture show lures the lonely people from their homes and builds up a neighborhood spirit.

Since life is the subject of the motion picture art and the motion picture business is peculiarly open to criticism, the problems of censorship are most complex. Through arrangements with the manufacturers, the national board of censorship is able to pass judgment on the picture presented to the city dwellers of the country in a non-official, co-operative manner. It holds a unique place in the region of prevention. The opportunity is presented and grasped of excluding immoral and objectionable situations from motion picture films. It is able also to raise the standard and to encourage the development of fine productions.

This organization must criticise pictures with all the people in all parts of the United States in mind. It would be glad to make some differentiation between those pictures which can be used for children and those which are suitable for adults. This seems to be impossible. The condition of the presentation of the film is such also that the same picture is shown in Key West, Florida, as in Seattle, Washington. The fundamental moralities only can be passed upon for all the people living between these two points.

It is possible for every city to co-operate with this board in detecting and excluding objectionable pictures. Information is sent out weekly to those official or non-official groups who are entrusted with this social service work. Since different localities have different social and civic problems, it is well for such groups to perform such disinterested volunteer service.

We put figures at the end. They tell a story, but not the whole story. As they are grasped, the facts stated above become significant. The manufacturers of motion picture subjects are sending out to exchanges throughout the country, weekly, between 135 and 150 new subjects. They involve new themes or variations of those dramatic, humorous and educational themes which have always been compelling. This means that 7,000 or more subjects are used for the entertainment of the American people each year. Within the last few months, a rapidly increasing number of subjects requiring from three to ten films have been produced. These have been exhibited in about 17,000 motion picture theatres. A conservative estimate places the amount spent in these houses of entertainment at $319,000,000. Last year, fully 10,000,000 people in the United States visited the motion picture theatres with more or less regularity. In centers of population, like New York, between one sixth and one seventh of the people visited these places daily. With such facts in mind, it must be considered that we have here a successful rival of baseball, dancing and organized play as an entertainment. In the minds of the masses, the motion picture takes the place of a novel. It becomes the handmaid of education that supplements the work of city officials, scientists, etc.

ORRIN G. COCKS.[2]

[2] The National Board of Censorship, of which Mr. Cocks is advisory secretary, is particularly interested in a plan of co-operation with the producers of motion pictures with a view to excluding from the show houses pictures which may be imported from Europe or made by manufacturers of no recognized standing in the industry and which are of such a character as to militate against the moral interests of the public and the financial interests of the motion picture industry. The manufacturers voluntarily submit their pictures to the national board of censorship under agreement to eliminate any parts of the picture which, in the opinion of the board, are objectionable or to withdraw from the American market pictures which may be condemned *in toto* by the board.

An official bulletin is issued each week covering the pictures passed upon for the preceding week together with the action taken on these films. This bulletin is mailed, each Saturday, to correspondents in all parts of the country, some 300 in number, including mayors, license bureaus, chiefs of police, civic and social organizations. In many cities, no pictures are allowed which have not been passed by the national board of censorship. The board passes upon ninety-five per cent of all motion pictures offered for public exhibition in America. It urges local co-operation with a view to suppressing such pictures of the other five per cent as do not meet the standards of the board. John Collier, general secretary of the board, made a study of the motion picture problem in Greater New York, carried on correspondence in various parts of the country and consulted with experts along various lines with a view to drawing up an ordinance which would regulate the physical characteristics of the show houses. On the basis of this inquiry, the national board has prepared a model ordinance which can be adapted to the requirements of any city.

WOMEN AND CIVICS

CIVICS bulk larger and ever larger in each recurring biennial of the General federation of women's clubs, and the Chicago meeting in June topped the record. The civic conference, held in the Auditorium theatre, was one of the most successful sessions of the twelfth biennial, every seat being occupied. Miss Zona Gale, of Portage, Wisconsin, chairwoman of the committee, presided.

Dr. F. C. Sharp of the department of Philosophy, University of Wisconsin, spoke on "Civics and Moral Training in the Public Schools." He introduced his remarks by telling of a request from a prospective student that he be permitted to take a course in ethics because he thought "ethics was his weak point." "If ethics means consideration of morals," continued Dr. Sharp, "then American schools are also weak in ethics." What we need is character building, not a mere mechanical habit of obedience, through love or fear of parents or teacher, but the development of a *love of right doing*, just as one would develop a love of literature. To train pupils to see issues of conduct—to show them identities—to develop a sense of cause and effect—to teach them to handle themselves in emergencies—to gain knowledge and love and the ability, to put both over into the will. This must develop into a science of the men to come and we will see a better humanity in the future.

Edward J. Ward of the department of civic and social development of the University of Wisconsin, and author of "The Social Center,"[1] spoke on schools as civic centers under the title of "Going to School to One Another." He struck a note of responsive interest when he stated in his introduction that while there were no sectional divisions of east or west at a biennial meeting, men as a rule "look to the east for the rising sun, but to the west for things that are done," quoting the following lines:

"Men look to the east for the dawning things
The light of a rising sun;
But they look to the west—the crimson west—
For the things that are done.
For out of the east they have always come
The cradle that saw the birth
Of all the heart-warm hopes of men—
Of all the hopes of earth.

For there in the east arose a Christ
And there in the east there gleamed
The dearest dream—the clearest dream
That ever a prophet dreamed,

[1] In the National Municipal League Series.

And into the waiting west they go
With the dreamchild of the east
And find the hopes we hoped of old
A hundred fold.

Mr. Ward, in speaking of municipal government, advised one board for the administration of the city's affairs, preferably the board of education—with some one at its head of the type of Mrs. Ella Flagg Young. There should be a municipal executive, who would act as civic secretary, a leader in the recreation of the city and superintendent in children's instruction—"a prime minister in a democracy." The schools should be used as polling places and centers for organized citizenship. They should be the headquarters of government where people come to have their intelligence examined. He rejoiced with the women on the stand they had taken on the suffrage, but he said "it was not so important after all. The ballot is only a machine for testing the brain—whether gray matter or mush. It is like school examinations. The real meaning of education does not lie in examinations, but in what has been done *between the examinations*. So it is *between* election times that really count, the time when "we all go to school to one another." "There are two great institutions in America, the saloon and the church," he declared. "The church has been good, divided and undemocratic. The saloon has been bad, democratic, undivided. Between the two is the school, combining the best qualities of both—an institution which should become the social center for the community in which it is placed, available at all or any time the citizens demand it. He closed by declaring that when we identify education and politics, the women have everything.

Social centers were endorsed by the Conference.

Professor Charles Zueblin's subject was "The Logic of Civics." "If," he declared, "home rule is good for Ireland, it must be good for us—home rule in home and city, nation and world. Any community that is not self-governing is futile. There can be no real beauty of home inside unless there is beauty in the streets without. Home-making begins by keeping the streets clean. If you cannot see the connection between keeping the streets clean, then there is no use in trying to improve the former. Make your government so simple that any college professor can understand it. Make it so plain that the people may know where responsibility lies, and give them the power to say what they want."

He recommended a subsidy from the family income for the mother, wife and homemaker, declaring we cannot have sex equality while men pay women's bills. Women, he declared, know more about sex than men and the latter should cease trying to teach the subject. "No laws can ever stop sexual immorality. This can only be done by teaching the spiritual significance of sex. Teach that there is only one mate, and men

and women can meet as freely as men meet men and women meet women. Women should study economic problems if they wish to be worthy of the suffrage—but they dare not study them because it will cost them something. It would be well for those who are able to attend conventions to make a study of twentieth century economics, including scientific production, business efficiency and equitable distribution. Bring the consumer back to the industry."

Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman of New York spoke on "The New Art of City Making." "The city is a live thing," she said, "and woman's civic duty is to help her to live—not to make money, but to make men, the greatest work of humanity. . . . The city should be treated as a living being. It dies of its vices. Its health is preserved by the normal exercise of its functions. When we realize that we are to be the city, then the city will live."

The program concluded with the song of "Brotherhood" by Edwin Markham, to the air "Die Wacht Am Rhein," led by Miss Margaret Woodrow Wilson, daughter of the President:

The crest and crowning of all good
Life's final star is brotherhood;
For it will bring again to earth
Her youthful poesy and mirth
'Twill bring new light to every face,
A kingly power upon the race;
And till it comes, we all, we all are slaves,
And travel downward to the dust of graves.

Come, clear the way, then clear the way,
The fear of kings has had its day;
Sweep dead branches from the path,
Our hope is in the aftermath,
Our hope is in heroic men
Star led to build the world again,
To this event the mighty ages ran,
Make way for brotherhood, make way for man.

There was also a "Civics Luncheon," at which Dr. Graham Taylor spoke on social centers, as did also John Richards of the South Park Recreation system of Chicago.

The biggest civic event was the declaration in favor of suffrage, which the federation adopted. It read as follows:

WHEREAS, The question of political equality of men and women is today a vital problem under discussion throughout the civilized world; therefore be it

Resolved, That the General federation of women's clubs give the cause of political equality its moral support by recording its earnest belief in the principles of practical equality regardless of sex.

Miss Jane Addams, in the judgment of Dr. Graham Taylor of Chicago Commons, paved the way for this when in her address which came early in the convention, she said:

When that wave of civic emotion surged into the focus of attention—as it is now high through the length and breadth of the nation—which had for its watchword "the city beautiful," it was most important that there had long been municipal art committees, that public schools had been supplied with good pictures, that trees had been planted in barren towns, that club women had been instrumental in saving the Palisades on the Hudson river, and in establishing a national park. It all gave reality and background to the movement.

When the new social imperative, entitled "know your city," gathered momentum and won acceptance far and wide, so that under its impulse and sanction there is inquiry into the facts and tendencies of city life, it was again important that women everywhere had been taught the value of inspecting milk and food, the needlessness of tuberculosis, the necessity for good factory conditions, the possibilities of garden cities.

They found that it was necessary to command a public opinion not only in the city or state in which the reform was needed, but throughout the country, so that any organization less widespread than the federation, with interests less universal, would have availed but little.

All these efforts to give effective expression to new demands, demonstrating as they do the dependence of the political machine for its driving force upon many varieties of social fuel, make clear women's need for a larger political participation. Without the franchise, woman is suddenly shut out of the game—the game played all over the world by statesmen, who at this moment are attempting to translate the new social sympathy into political action.

The report of the "Civics Committee, 1912–1914," based upon reports from the various states, set forth that the growth in civic work among the woman's clubs consisted in (1) the introduction of civic departments in department clubs; (2) the study of civic and social conditions by study clubs; (3) the organization of workers for actual civic advance; and that of the three, the second and third greatly predominate.

The initial steps, the report pointed out, usually include "clean-up" days, the buying of trash buckets, prizes for back-yard improvement, the attacking of bill-boards—all admirable. Next comes constructive work in beautifying—the planting of small open squares, the advocacy of window-boxes, the hope of a little park, the placing of seats in sightly places. This leads naturally to work in sanitation, the clearing of alleys, garbage collection, fly campaigns, bubble fountains, abolishing the exposure of food on sidewalks, of street-sweeping during traffic hours and without the use of the hose, medical inspection of school children, the tuberculin testing of cattle, the anti-tuberculosis work in various forms.

Then inevitably comes the still more human element, the element constructive as well as preventive: Playgrounds, domestic science and manual training and a gymnasium for the schools. The development of

recreational facilities, attention to motion pictures, investigation of the treatment of juvenile offenders, the condition of local goals and lock-ups, of child labor, of factory and shop conditions in general—hours, sanitation and wages. And so gradually back to the whole underlying industrial situation, and to the economic conditions which have begotten it.

Most of the civic clubs are working in the earlier stages. Indeed, when they get to the later stages, they are likely to dissolve and to enter the field from another direction. But no civic club can wish for its members anything better than so to educate them that they will pass from the initial stages of civic effort on to the direct work from whose growing area the call for workers sounds so clear.

From the state reports, and from the answers to the questions which accompanied the request for them, and above all from the hundreds of letters which have passed through the department, one fact seems to stand out most clearly:

If our actual organization is to keep pace with our dream, then we must realize that no dream can continue indefinitely on volunteer work alone.

The truth is that the civic department has now outlived its period of amateur effort, and the work has grown too large for the hands of the volunteers who are attempting to carry it. If we are to get, not our maximum, but even a fair proportion of efficiency from the splendid unselfish desire now awake and alive in club women who are civic workers, then we must introduce into our work that to which every volunteer work must grow: the co-operation of trained and paid organizers.

The need was illustrated by citing that in Wisconsin there have been sometimes a dozen requests to the state civic committee for the chairman to go to towns to organize for civic study and civic work. No woman, unless she give her whole time to the work, can carry on actively such work as this. Not only so, but there is an enormous borderland of towns not yet at the point of asking for help, to which somebody should go to initiate civic work and create the demand for further co-operation from outside. And this should, in the opinion of the committee, be done systematically, county by county, in each state, "until not a single community is left in any state whose members have not had a direct chance to come into the great new current of social consciousness which is pouring round the world."

Concretely the recommendation of the chairman of the civic department would be for the appointment by the general federation board of a paid civic organizer, to go from state to state where the need is shown by these and later reports to be the greatest.

To co-operate with the civic chairman of these states in the organization into civic clubs and civic departments of the many whose civic sense is awake, but who need direction as to how to function. Best of all, such an organizer could organize not only clubs but whole communities into self-conscious bodies meeting for the transaction of their own social business.

There is the most urgent and immediate need for this sort of work: For someone who sees what the social awakening means, for someone who understands the immense educational value of such work as she can direct the clubs and communities to undertake, both in programme planning, and in the adoption of definite activities.

Eventually, every state must have such a paid civic organizer, a paid civic secretary, if you like, supported by the state. Eventually every town must have, supported by the town, such a paid civic worker—a municipal secretary, if you like, a director of the great un-co-ordinated civic impulse stirring alive in towns large and small, and at last understanding that a civic secretary, a secretary of social work and recreational life, is just as vital as an inspector of weights and measures, of buildings, of sidewalks themselves. . . .

No more striking illustration of the growth of the civic spirit among women can be found than this recommendation. A further illustration is to be found in the fact that two books dealing with women and public affairs are to be published this autumn. Mrs. Charles A. Beard is preparing for the National Municipal League Series a book on "Women's Work in Municipalities" designed to tell the story of what women have tried to do in cities and towns up to the present time. In the telling of the story interesting studies will be developed, such as the constructive and organizing ability that women have manifested; how far their own initiative has extended; the gradual municipalisation of their enterprises and their attitude toward government responsibility for housing, vice, safety, health and similar problems; what forces have opposed their proposals and progress; their persistency and methods; and whether women have something peculiar to contribute to municipal life or whether there are no sex distinctions in public vision and endeavor.

Owing to the interlocking of municipal state and federal control of the elements that go to make up urban conditions of life and labor, some analysis will be made and description given of national associations whose activities react on the municipalities. Women as office holders and as voters will receive the attention they merit.

Significant of the widespread interest which this book has already aroused is a list of questions sent some months ago to Mrs. Beard by Mrs. Weston of California in the hope that the book will shed light upon the same. These are the questions, all of them concise and pertinent:

1. Why has women's work become municipal?
2. Do you think women's work has special claim upon the taxpayer?
3. How far has women's work had its origin in private initiative?
4. Do we overestimate the value of private initiative?
5. How long has it taken to make various activities of women municipal?
6. What forces have hindered early municipalisation in various places?
7. In what sense has the *esprit de corps* of the work been lost to women since it has become municipalised? Is no loss evident? Is *esprit de corps* essential?

8. How far would women extend the civil service in salaried work?
9. What municipal work should be done by women?
10. How does the work of women in suffrage and non-suffrage states compare?
11. Do women have a material and spiritual contribution for the municipality, and if so, in what does it consist?

No one will read the book without receiving help on all these questions, but the author has not answered them personally. Had she done so, she would have labelled herself a propagandist, she has preferred to let the story speak for itself.

The entire country has been drawn upon for data which are used as illustrative material only, however. There is no attempt at statistical valuation, the point of view being that what the few have done the many can do; that what has been done in some places can be done in other places; that the proportions of men and women engaged in municipal improvement are of minor consequence compared with the contribution of each to the sum total of good and the ability they manifest in co-operation.[1]

The American Academy of political and social science has a volume in hand on "Women in Public Life." It will be edited by Dr. J. P. Lichtenberger and made up of sundry contributions. Part I will deal with "The Feminist Movement" and will consider its character and economic basis; women's status as affected by tradition; the industrial changes and the position of women; the changed ideals and status of the family and the public activities of women and woman's place in the new civilization. Part II will consider the "Public Activities of Women," including women and legislation; woman's activity in the schools; civic activities of women's clubs; women is social reform and social legislation; women in municipal activities. "Woman and the Suffrage" will constitute Part III, and in it will be discussed equal suffrage—a problem of political justice; equal suffrage non-essential to equality of rights and privileges; economic value of the vote; socializing influences of the ballot on women; militant movement in England; the two suffragettes; women's vote and the liquor traffic.

Surely the civic work of women has come to be one of the big factors in our modern life.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

Philadelphia.

[1] This book will be published by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

ST. LOUIS' SUCCESSFUL FIGHT FOR A MODERN CHARTER

AFTER living her municipal life for thirty-eight years under the theory and practice of checks and balances, St. Louis, on June 30, adopted a new city charter based on the theory of popular government and direct responsibility. The charter was adopted by the close vote of 46,839 to 44,158, a total of 90,997 voters out of 148,211 registered, (61%). The charter became effective August 29, with the exception of the provision relating to the single instead of the dual legislative body, which goes into effect in April, 1915.

This was the second charter submitted to the people of St. Louis by a board of thirteen freeholders within three years. The first charter, submitted January 31, 1911, was overwhelmingly beaten more than two to one. The second charter, just adopted, and the conditions surrounding it were entirely different. In the first place it was a much more radical charter than that submitted in 1911. Furthermore, this last board of freeholders conducted all its business in the open, called in experts from all over the country, heard all classes of citizens and then deliberately set out to write the kind of a charter which they believed the majority of the people of St. Louis really wanted. The former board failed to take the public fully into its confidence and submitted a charter on only a month's notice after eighteen months' deliberation.

But the most striking features in connection with this revolution in the public life of St. Louis do not have to do either with the form of charter or with the method of work of the board of freeholders. They have to do with the changes in the expression and make-up of public opinion. This is important for the reason that it is the first big thing that the progressive forces of the city have achieved in many years. Following by a month the great democratic civic pageant and masque (see *infra*), the charter election was the response of a new spirit in a city which has been divided, torn, hampered and hobbled by suspicion, apathy and conflicting issues.

The story of the play of forces in public opinion in St. Louis is not a new one. It is largely at bottom the old story of plunderer and plundered, of special interests versus the public. These special interests in St. Louis are popularly—or unpopularly—known as the "Big Cinch," and, of course center around the franchise-holding companies, most of which are controlled by a holding company, the North American company of New York. These interests, together with the Terminal railroad association, composed of all the railroads entering the city, have been enabled by their business and banking connections to secure for years extensive and unwarranted privileges.

The greatest public issue in St. Louis for many years has been the abolition of bridge-tolls on freight and passengers crossing the Mississippi river. To end that system of tolls, the people of St. Louis in 1906 voted $3,500,000 in bonds for the construction of a free municipal bridge. The amount voted was sufficient only to build the bridge structure itself, together with its western approaches. It has remained in the river unfinished for the past three years because the people have three times refused to authorize bonds for the completion of the eastern approach, on the ground that the approach as located would be controlled by the Terminal railroad association. This fight has been reflected in almost every other public issue. The same alignment of public opinion has held almost unbroken throughout. Suspicion on the part of one crowd of whatever the other crowd proposed has been the dominant note in public life. Roughly, on one side were the newspapers, the business organizations and their political allies; on the other, organized labor, the militant reformers, the Socialist party and the improvement associations.

From the start the charter movement was opposed by most of this latter group of forces because they saw in it just another attempt of the "interests" to gain more complete control of city government for their own ends. Their suspicion was without foundation, for these interests had nothing to gain from any change in government. The system under which they had developed and flourished suited them. Indeed, as the campaign developed, it appeared clearly that the franchise interests, so far as they dared show their hand, were lined up against the charter.

The opposition of the radicals was shorn of much of its influence by the open, democratic character of the whole charter movement. From the beginning, it was the product of widespread co-operation on the part of citizens organizations, such as the Civic league, the improvement associations and the neighborhood business associations. It was represented by no particular type of organization. The Joint charter conference, composed of forty-three of these organizations, secured the passage of the bill calling the charter election in April, 1913, and materially assisted in securing bi-partisan nominations for the board of freeholders. The almost equal division of strength between the Republican and Democratic parties in St. Louis is responsible for the ease with which bi-partisan agreements and good nominations can be secured. When three thousand votes one way or the other swing an election, both parties are naturally exceedingly careful.

The month's campaign was in charge of a thoroughly representative committee of one hundred, headed by the mayor, who although known chiefly as a machine politician when elected, has developed a singular capacity for progressive leadership.

Every device known to popularize an issue was used, including motion pictures, speakers from automobiles in the congested districts, noon-day

meetings downtown, meetings in factories and in eighteen public school buildings. A ground floor down-town office in the midst of the business district was opened, and a staff of organizers and publicity men put to work with the secretary of the board of freeholders in charge. So much aid was given freely by volunteers that the total campaign expenses amounted to only $3,600.00. The Progressive city committee, heading a party with only 4,000 to 5,000 votes in the city, responded vigorously almost to a man. A handful of Republican and three Democratic city committeemen also did yeoman service. Although both the Republican and Democratic committees publicly endorsed the charter, many of the committeemen secretly knifed it. Most of them were so confident of its defeat that they did not exert themselves against it.

The opposition organization, known as the Anti-charter campaign committee, was largely in charge of Socialists and labor leaders. The Socialist party, which casts about 10,000 votes, was opposed to the charter chiefly because the single legislative body provided for the election of its members at large and the Socialists would thereby fail of an opportunity of representation. There was a marked split, however, in the ranks of the party, because from a non-political standpoint, the principles of Socialism could be greatly advanced under a municipal-ownership charter with direct legislation. The central labor union is controlled by Socialists, but the ranks of labor too were considerably divided—many of the unions individually supporting the charter. The socialist—labor opposition was as usual effective, not only in their own ranks, but outside. Their literature bore no party mark, and distributed as it was by volunteers from house to house throughout the city, carried its appeals to prejudice to thousands who knew little of the charter and who played safe by voting "no."

The most formidable opposition came from reactionary interests working largely in secret. Some of these interests at the eleventh hour came out with two-column, quarter-page newspaper advertisements appealing to the small property-owner and tax-payer on the ground that the charter would increase taxes. This advertising doubtless cost the charter thousands of votes, for it was almost impossible to meet. A wealthy brewer, the head of a phantom "tax federation," was the most conspicuous of the reactionary opponents. The anomalous situation was presented of such interests as these fighting hand in hand with the militant reformers and socialists.

It is interesting to compare the line-up of the forces in both of the charter campaigns—1911 and 1914.

1914—*For*

All the daily papers, with the exception of the *West liche-Post*, morning, German, which was non-committal.

All the weekly papers (except *Reedy's Mirror*).

The Progressive city committee.

Officially also the Republican and Democratic city committees, and all the important political leaders. (Actually only a few committeemen in either party supported the charter.)

The mayor and city administration.

The improvement associations.

Practically all civic and business associations.

"Downtown" business.

All the conservative and some of the militant reformers.

A large number of clergymen, including the archbishop.

The conservative labor leaders, especially in the building and printing trades.

Campaign in charge of a Citizens' campaign committee of 100, headed by the mayor, representing all elements of the community.

1914—*Against*

Most of the politicians of both leading parties, under cover.

The Socialist party (somewhat divided).

The public service companies and their allies, under cover.

Reedy's Mirror (weekly).

Organized labor (somewhat divided).

The People's league (representing a small group of labor leaders and radicals).

The Tax-payer's protective federation (representing the efforts of a wealthy brewer).

The militant reformers.

Opposition in charge of an Anti-charter campaign committee, officered by Socialists and trade-unionists.

Result of the election 46,839 for; 44,158 against.
Total voting 90,997, or 61 per cent of the registered voters.

1911—*For*

All the daily newspapers except the *Globe-Democrat* (morning Republican), which was non-committal.

Reedy's Mirror (weekly). (Other weekly papers non-committal.)

The mayor and city administration.

Downtown-business.

The conservative reformers.

Campaign in charge of a small citizens' committee of individuals of the "reformer" group.

1911—*Against*

Politicians of both leading parties, with the exception of that wing of the Republican party under the city administration.

The Socialist party.

The public service companies and their allies, under cover.

Organized labor.

Improvement associations divided, majority against.

The militant reformers.

Opposed by the People's league organized for the purpose, representing organized labor, militant reformers and Socialists.

Result of the election, 24,816 for; 65,324 against.
Total voting 90,141, or 58 per cent of the registered voters.

The charter campaign has given new life to the progressive forces who have been struggling for results for years. A new civic unity seems to be in the making, and a new sense of confidence in leadership aroused. St. Louis has been a city without leadership. The new form of government will provide not only leadership through city government itself, but a leadership on the part of citizens and associations of citizens who gain strength through the popular government features of the charter.

The advent of popular government makes imperative the better organization of public opinion. This, fortunately, is being promoted through two agencies: first, the wider use of the public schools just made possible by new rules of the board of education, permitting the free use of school buildings outside of school hours by any association; and second, by the organized co-operation of every association of citizens in the city. A definite plan of co-operation has been worked out quietly for several years. It is proposed now to bring these agencies together through delegates in a permanent city conference to meet monthly for the discussion of public issues, presided over by the mayor. In this way that public opinion which expresses itself in these organizations and which has such great power under the initiative, referendum and recall, can be intelligently directed.

While this statement has attempted to present briefly the alignment of forces in the remaking of city government in St. Louis, it would not be complete without a sketch of the chief features of the charter just adopted. Those features are:

1. *The initiative and referendum at low percentages;* the initiative petition for a general election being five per cent of the registered voters—and for a special election seven per cent. The submission of an ordinance satisfactorily acted upon by the Assembly is prevented by permitting four of the official committee of five petitioners to waive its going to the people.

The referendum is optional and excepts emergency ordinances. The definition of an emergency ordinance is explicit. Seven per cent petitions refer to a general election; twelve per cent to a special.

2. *The recall;* an election for the recall of any elective officer must be held on petition of twenty per cent of the registered voters in two-thirds of the wards. At the election only the single question of recall is submitted.

3. *Municipal ownership of public utilities* of any kind is provided for.

4. *One house of legislation,* composed of twenty-eight aldermen, elected at large, each one, however, representing a different ward. The president is elected at large. (The old system consisted of two houses, one elected by wards, the other at large.) The legislative body is shorn of its power to grant permits, pass ordinances for the making of streets, etc.

5. *An efficiency system,* under three commissioners appointed by the mayor. All appointments and promotions must be made on an efficiency basis after a public competitive examination. The appointing officer may appoint any one of the three highest on the list of eligibles. He may discharge at will but must assign his reasons in writing if requested. The heads of departments and divisions and their personal assistants are excepted.

6. The only elective officers are the mayor, comptroller, and the members of the board of aldermen.

7. The administration of city affairs is directly in charge of the mayor, who appoints the five members of a board of public service, each one the director of a department, consisting of various divisions. The departments are: Department of the president, public utilities, streets and sewers, public welfare and public safety.

8. *A board of estimate and apportionment,* with complete control of the city purse-strings; consisting of the mayor, the comptroller and president of the board of aldermen.

Among the other features of the charter are provisions for special taxes for all public improvements, rigid regulation of franchises, higher salaries for the important officers ($10,000 for the mayor, $8,000 for the director of each department), and the abolition of most of the citizens' boards which have been necessary under the old charter to prevent political encroachments.

One feature of the charter is admittedly unsatisfactory—the make-up of the board of aldermen. It was the cause of two members of the board of freeholders declining to sign the charter draft and the fundamental cause of the active opposition of the Socialist party and of labor. It was a compromise, adopted because of a limitation in the state constitution which prescribes for St. Louis, "a mayor and, at least one house of legislation, elected on a general ticket." The board of freeholders thus faced the dilemma of *two* houses of legislation or one house elected at large. Public sentiment was apparently against a house elected at large. Ward representation was generally popular. The Socialist party wanted proportional representation, which only the legislature can provide. The board of freeholders decided that it was better to have one house with some recognition of ward representation and have that one house fairly large than to have a small house elected on a general ticket. The charter provides, however, that when the state constitution permits, the legislative body shall be elected by wards. It also permits proportional representation and preferential voting when the legislature makes provision. A movement will doubtless be inaugurated to change the form of the legislative body in the next legislature in time to make the changes effective before the first election under the charter.

Although St. Louis has home-rule in most matters, state laws, of course, supersede charter provisions. For that reason, the board of freeholders was unable to effect any change in the election laws, which are politician-made for the benefit of politicians. The next big task in good government before St. Louis is to persuade the legislature to take that yoke off her neck by a thorough revision of election laws applying both to city and state.

ROGER N. BALDWIN.[1]

CIVIC AND SOCIAL SURVEYS AND COMMUNITY EFFICIENCY

DURING the past decade interest in civic and social surveys has been steadily growing. Survey after survey has been made as a protest against guessing at the solution of community problems. Back of this is a recognition of important changes in human relationships due to the tremendous development of industries, the enormous growth of cities, the movement of population to cities, immigration, the influx of women in industry and other causes. With these changes have come new problems in government and its administration, new problems in social, in economic and in church life, calling for diagnosis and study to learn whether the old machinery and provisions for individual and social advance are filling the new needs. There has been a great deal of experimentation to get at, interpret and solve these problems, and with this has developed the idea of civic and social surveys. Such surveys may now be regarded as the recognized method of social discovery, and, supplemented by the exhibit as an agency of popular interpretation, may be accepted as having demonstrated their usefulness as a means to be employed in auditing present efficiency, in securing effective action, and in constructive planning for the future.

The relation of surveys to community efficiency is well set forth by Dr. William H. Allen in an article in the March, 1913, number of *The American City*. He says:

The Associated charities of Syracuse wanted facts about charities efficiency. Out of that desire a city-wide study of the charities department, schools, health department, methods of accounting and reporting, etc. Ten men in Waterbury, Conn., wanted to find out whether the city's accounting methods were adequate. Out of that want grew a city-wide survey of accounting methods, police department, schools, charities, public works, budget making, etc. Atlanta's chamber of commerce wanted a fact basis for intelligent co-operation with city officials in deciding upon large policies of development certain to confront that rapidly-growing city. Out of this want grew a city-wide survey with statements of fact and constructive suggestions regarding the following

[1] Secretary, St. Louis Civic League.

departments: construction, fire, police, water, park, sanitary, health, buildings, weights and measures, licenses, purchase of supplies and materials, payment of claims, bank deposits and treasurer's balances, bonded debt, collection and assessment of taxes, budget methods, central control, and schools. The St. Louis voters' league wanted facts for intelligent consideration of charter needs. Out of this grew a survey of accounting and reporting methods, water department control, etc. The Socialistic administration of Milwaukee wanted a fact basis for beginning to redeem its pledges of efficiency. Out of that grew a city-wide survey and a bureau of economy and efficiency. Governor McGovern of Wisconsin wanted a fact basis for redeeming his pledges. The state board of public affairs of Wisconsin began a state-wide survey of every activity upon which state funds were spent, including public schools.

Along with the desire to know the truth and the whole truth, to correct, and to secure permanent results, has come the development of agencies and directive initiative which supply the leverage that enables communities to lift themselves above their situation, to know themselves in their good and bad aspects, to see the way to improvement, and to find the solution of their problems.

In the promotion of governmental administrative efficiency especially notable is the work of the New York bureau of municipal research, founded in 1911. In the administrative affairs of New York City alone this agency is credited with having saved the city several million dollars. Its studies, surveys, constructive criticisms and improvement programs have resulted in increased efficiency in administration not only in New York City, but also in Atlanta, Dayton, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., Jersey City, Milwaukee, Montclair, Nassau County, N. Y., the states of New Jersey, Wisconsin and Ohio, Orange, N. J., Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Reading, Portland, Ore., Rochester, Schenectady, Seabright, N. J., Springfield, Mass., Waterbury, Conn.

At the desire of a community, this bureau sends trained and experienced men, usually in four teams corresponding to the four main groups of administrative functions:—organization, financial methods, assessments and collection of taxes, and accounting; police and fire departments, penal institutions, etc.; health, sanitary and social work; and highways, sewers, buildings. In small cities and communities the work is often done by one or two men. After ascertaining the statutory, charter and other legal provisions relating to local affairs, and informing themselves as to the general organization provided for administration of the several departments, bureaus, boards, commissions, etc., these men, co-operating with the officials in charge, obtain accurate information relative to revenues, expenditures, budget making, accounting and auditing, debt, public works, health, police, fire, and other operating facts. In each of the fields mentioned not only do they make scores of tests to learn whether there are opportunities to increase the efficiency of the

government and to cut down expenditures by the elimination of waste, but they also carry on investigations to find out whether there have been utilized in all the departmental offices the aids to efficiency and economy which are to be found in private business and in efficient government. The report of the bureau on its investigation then outlines a constructive program of improvement and suggests the practical means of correcting existing defects. As a result of the enormous demands for its service and assistance, the bureau has established a training school for public service to provide on a large scale the experts required by its investigations.

In the field of civic, social, industrial and sanitary betterment, the department of surveys and exhibits of the Russell Sage foundation, established in 1912, has become a national force and clearing house. Its object is to define and spread the social survey idea; to collect and keep within easy reference reach through pamphlets, reports, photographs, drawings, miniatures and models, information on survey experience that has been gained thus far, and to build up an agency for assisting communities to organize surveys. It acts particularly on the principle that surveys should co-operate closely with organized social work—local, state and national, especially those agencies of national scope which have accumulated the largest amount of knowledge and experience in handling the problems in their respective fields. This co-operation helps toward obtaining the specially trained workers essential to accurate and productive surveys. On the other hand, it assumes that the survey is an effort toward a democratic solution of local problems and therefore must be shouldered by representatives of all interests and groups in the population. So that while it brings to bear on the local problems the knowledge and experience of experts, it works through committees made up of business men, large employers of labor, labor leaders, workingmen, ministers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, social workers and municipal officials. In this way it aims to organize surveys and investigations into the conditions of education, public health and sanitation, civic betterment and betterment agencies, recreation, industrial conditions, delinquency, taxation and public finance, which will result in: first, a sufficient body of local facts to permit the planning of an intelligent program by the department for community advance for several years, showing not only what to build but also what to build on and with; second, the means of enlisting public support for measures which champion human welfare; and third, the collection of sufficient data to point out the problems which need thorough and continuous investigation.

Thus the Department attempts to link up every available force into one big effort to mould through the medium of local facts a more intelligent public policy. Under its direction, efficient surveys and community programs have been made in Ithaca, N. Y., Scranton, Newark,

South Brooklyn, Atlanta, Newburgh, N. Y., and Topeka, Kan., and at the present time has under way a survey in Springfield, Ill.

For the study of church efficiency, the Bureau of social service of the Board of home missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States was established in 1911. Under its impulse seventy North American cities, including Cleveland, Buffalo, Chicago, New York, Newark, Elizabeth, Utica, with a combined population of 20,000,000, have been surveyed. Through pastors and committees of the various churches investigations outlined by the superintendent have been carried on covering facts vital to efficient church service in the community: population, social influences, industrial life, saloons, liquor traffic, dance halls, crimes and arrests, housing, health, political life, social service agencies, relief of the poor, public schools, libraries, recreational life, juvenile delinquency, and general conditions among the churches. The bureau prepares the survey blanks for the ministers and laymen, designs and finishes the charts used in each city, interprets the material gathered by the local committees, and summarizes the studies. The object of the bureau is through the employment of unprofessional service to develop a company of local experts in the most important community problems by bringing the individuals into first-hand contact with local conditions.

For more than a decade Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane has been an authority on civic conditions, and during this time has conducted surveys in more than half a hundred cities in the United States. Her work has been especially notable in the field of sanitation, and her reports cover the problems of public water supply, sewerage disposal, street sanitation, garbage collection and disposal, smoke nuisance, milk and meat supply, market and bakery sanitation, almshouse conditions, county and city jails, and public health administration. Her aim has been not merely to point out defects and suggest remedies, but also to create public sentiment in favor of reform. In the last respect it is an interesting fact that in her efforts she has brought into active co-operation not only city officials, but also chambers of commerce, boards of trade, business men's associations, civic associations, and especially women's clubs, all of which have helped her by furnishing her, in advance of her necessarily brief personal visit and survey, with local ordinances bearing on sanitation, city charter provisions, printed departmental reports, maps marked to show extension of water supply, sewerage service, parks and playgrounds, and other authenticated information essential to reliable conclusions in regard to local conditions. Her surveys have been therefore not only an impulse to improvements in sanitation, but also a stimulus in public education as a result of the preliminary study and preparation carried on by the local organizations and individuals. Among the cities covered by her surveys are to be found Scranton, Erie, Wilkesbarre, and Uniontown, Pennsylvania; Nashville and Knoxville, Tennessee; Saginaw,

Calumet, Hastings, and Comstock, Michigan; Rochester; Concord, New Hampshire; Hagerstown, Maryland; Montgomery, Alabama; Louisville, Lexington, Frankford, Paducah, and Bowling Green, Kentucky; St. Paul, Duluth, Winona, St. Cloud, and twelve others, Minnesota; and Seattle, Spokane, Tacoma, Bellingham, Olympia, Everett, and seven others, Washington.

A good example of what might be done with advantage in all sections of the country is the series of social and economic surveys of rural townships in Minnesota conducted by Carl Thompson and G. P. Warper, who have been making intensive studies of the nationality, work, business relations, farmers' organizations, civic relations, roads, education, religious activities, social and recreational life and facilities with a view to constructive efforts at betterment. In the same state, the league of Minnesota municipalities is planning to conduct a series of surveys of smaller towns and villages, beginning with the village of Herman, to develop interest in local improvement and the work of the league.

Murray Gross.[1]

CINCINNATI'S CHARTER CAMPAIGN

THE proposed new charter for Cincinnati submitted to the electors of that city on July 14 in accordance with the home rule provision of the recently amended state constitution, was defeated by a vote of 27,823 to 21,253. The recall which was submitted separately was defeated by a vote of 26,437 to 21,469. A number of bond issues submitted to the people at this time, as required by state law, also met defeat, none receiving the required two-thirds vote, although the issue for the House of refuge received a majority vote.

The story of the effort to secure a new charter in Cincinnati is in brief as follows:

Late in the spring of 1913, a group of citizens of which Rev. Herbert Bigelow, late president of the Ohio constitutional convention and a member of the general assembly, was the leading figure, initiated a proposal for the calling of a charter commission to draft and propose a charter for Cincinnati. This group named what they called the "Civic and Labor" ticket. A number of the fifteen candidates had been prominently associated with labor organizations. The situation in the city at that time was rather tense. We had had a number of very disastrous strikes, some of them then in progress, the most important being the street car strike, the ice strike and the teamsters' strike. Business suffered very severely because of these conditions. In the general assembly, Mr.

[1] West Philadelphia High School.

Bigelow had fathered a bill which passed the lower house, but was defeated in the senate, designed to repeal the law under which the franchise of the Cincinnati traction company had been granted. This measure resulted in a very pronounced feeling pro and con with respect to Mr. Bigelow, consequently, as soon as the "Civic and Labor" ticket was named, opposition developed and a second commission was nominated. This group was headed by W. A. Knight and was called the "Citizens' " ticket. It was named by the joint action of practically all the civic organizations of the city, and it is generally thought that a very fair and representative ticket was chosen, possibly rather conservative. This ticket it developed, however, was in favor of a new charter, and consequently those who were opposed to any change organized in the third group, known as the "No-charter" group.

The election was held on July 30, 1913, and resulted in a vote for the election of a commission of 19,666 for and 19,576 against. In the election of the charter commissioners, the Citizens' ticket was successful throughout, defeating the Bigelow ticket by 5,000 votes. In this campaign two of the three groups were fighting for the charter as against the No-charter organization, and succeeded in winning by the narrow margin of ninety votes. In the selection of the Citizens' ticket two groups were working against a single group, because the No-charter group voted for the Citizens' ticket as a second choice proposition, arguing that while they were opposed to any charter commission, were one to be chosen they would prefer the Citizens' ticket to the Civic and Labor ticket. At the same election a proposal submitted by the general assembly to reduce the size of council was defeated by a vote of 27,155 to 22,617.

The state constitution requires commissions so elected to submit a charter within a year. Effort was made to submit a charter before summer so as to avoid the necessity for another summer campaign. Various delays, however, resulted in the election day being fixed at July 14.

The charter as submitted was a good document, and I believe preferable to the general code. All of us have differences of opinion respecting the advisability of certain of its features. It is a conservative document, and would have been an improvement. It was unanimously signed by the members of the commission.

In the election, the issue centered very largely on the question of the character of the council, the non-partisan ballot, and the placing the power of choosing heads of departments in the hands of the mayor. There were a number of minor issues which affected a good many votes, such as the provision for the control of commercialized recreation, the publication of a municipal journal to replace advertisements in the newspapers, the power given the civil service commission, but the main issues were those first stated. The charter was endorsed by the Chamber of

commerce, the Business men's club, the Federated improvement association, the Federation of churches, the Bureau of municipal research, the Council of social agencies, and the Democratic local central committee. Of course, many of the members of these organizations, particularly of the chamber and the Business men's club were opposed to the charter. The Republican organization and the city administration were very actively opposed to it, chiefly because of the council to be elected at large and of the non-partisan ballot. The Socialists condemned it, because of the non-partisan ballot. The labor organizations pronounced for it. Of the four newspapers of the city, printed in English, the two morning papers were strongly opposed to the charter. One of the evening newspapers supported it and the fourth took no stand for or against.

The heavy vote polled is indicative of the interest taken in a special election coming in mid-summer when there were no candidates to be chosen. Our total vote is about 90,000. The vote the charter received would have been sufficient to have carried it in any city in this state, which has voted on a charter. Two unusual results are shown in the charter election. One, is that the recall, which was submitted separately from the charter proper, received a higher total vote than did the charter, and second, that the vote for and against the charter was fairly uniform throughout the city. Nearly every ward returned a slight vote against the charter and the same uniformity is evidenced generally in the precincts.

It is a little difficult to state what causes led to the results of this election. The Republican organization was very active in its opposition and the heavy vote polled is undoubtedly largely attributed to this fact. On the other hand, some of the charter friends think the Democratic organization did not poll as many favorable votes as would have been cast had the party been enthusiastic in its support. Disappointment was also felt in the labor vote. While the labor leaders were in favor of the charter it is apparent that a great many of the labor votes were cast against it. The Bigelow faction as such, took no active part in the campaign, and Mr. Bigelow himself was out of the city during the greater part of the campaign and during the election. The fact that the vote on the recall was heavier than on the charter can only be explained by the vote of the Socialists, who control maybe three thousand votes, in favor of the recall, but against the charter, and a similar vote on the part of a good many of the Bigelow followers. Undoubtedly, a great many votes were cast in favor of the charter, but against the recall, so that there was a considerable majority to overcome.

The result of the charter election was anticipated although toward the end of the campaign the pro-charter force received a great deal of encouragement. The movement has cost the city of Cincinnati about $100,000.00. Two special elections were held at a cost of possibly $66,-

000.00. The city appropriated for the commission about $25,000.00, and the amount spent in the campaigns would easily bring this to the figure named. The value to the city from the educational standpoint, however, has been very great, and the feeling is general that before long another charter will be drafted which will utimately be adopted.

S. Gale Lowrie.[1]

ABSENT VOTING

A FLOOD of bills has been introduced in the legislatures of the various states during the last few years providing schemes to permit absentees to vote, showing that there is a strong public sentiment against longer disfranchising those whose business takes them away from home on the registration days or on election day. Some of these bills became laws in 1913 and more may be expected to pass in the sessions of 1915.

Three plans are in use in various countries to enfranchise absentee electors: one is to allow the voter to go to any polling place and deposit his ballot which is sent to the board of canvassers of the county wherein he resides; the second is to permit the voter to send his ballot to his home precinct by mail, and the third is to allow the voter who expects to be absent on election day to vote in his own precinct before leaving home. These three methods may be designated absent voting, postal voting, and early voting. Some plan to permit absentees to vote obtains in the Dominion of Australia, the province of West Australia, New Zealand, Norway and the Swiss cantons of Berne and Zurich. The states of the Union which have such laws are Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri (for the city and county of St. Louis), Nebraska and North Dakota.

In most of these states and countries absent voting is the rule. In Kansas, Missouri and Nebraska the elector subscribes to an oath or affidavit stating that he is a voter in a given precinct. A penalty attaches for swearing falsely. A better method is provided in Australia and Minnesota where the voter is required to produce some sort of an identification paper from his home precinct. He may then vote where he happens to be. The ballots under either of the schemes are not counted where voted, but are sent by mail to the voter's home county or precinct officials. Postal voting is in use in New Zealand, Norway, and was until 1911 in Victoria province. Australia formerly permitted both absent and postal voting, but in 1913 the postal voting law was repealed because of alleged frauds in connection with it. The present ministry, however, are endeavoring to have it re-enacted. In the Swiss cantons of Berne and Zurich the absentee voter may send his ballot by another voter in-

[1] Professor in the University of Cincinnati, and director Municipal reference bureau.

stead of by mail, but no voter may deliver the ballot of more than one absent voter. In North Dakota the voter may either vote by mail or vote before leaving his home precinct.

The absent voting laws of the states, except Kansas, were all adopted in 1913, and no election has occurred since. Kansas has permitted absent voting for several years. It is estimated that 5,000 absentees voted in 1912. These were made up largely of railroad employees, students, traveling salesmen, public officials and inmates of the soldiers' home. No data is available concerning the number of absent voters in Norway, the Swiss cantons or New Zealand. In Victoria[1] province in 1908 there were 3,790 absent votes amounting to four and one half per cent of the total votes recorded, and in 1911 there were 12,362 absent votes amounting to three and thirteen hundredths per cent of the total votes cast. In Australia[2] in 1910 there were 31,217 absent and 29,249 postal votes cast. In 1913 after the repeal of the postal voting provisions the absent votes had increased to 191,116, amounting to nine and three fourths per cent of the total vote recorded.

The above represents practically all the data available on the number and character of the absentee voters in places where they are permitted to vote. Some interesting facts both as to number and character of absentees where no absent voting law has been passed, were brought out in a recent survey of four Columbus and three Cincinnati precincts in connection with a study of compulsory voting.

A house-to-house canvass of two of the better precincts in Columbus after the 1913 election showed that fifty-six per cent and forty-five per cent respectively of the non-voting electors were absent. These absentees were equal in number to thirteen and three tenths per cent and thirteen and one tenth per cent respectively of those who voted. From such fragmentary data not even a close approximation can be made of the additional number of votes that an absent voting law would cause. They do show that a large number and not an inconsiderable part of the electorate would be enfranchised by a carefully worked out absent voting law.

Authentic information as to the character of the voters that would be enabled to vote by an absent voting provision cannot be obtained. The law is very popular in Kansas, Australia and New Zealand and the opinion is given by observers in those states that the absentee voters are largely of a desirable class. This opinion is borne out by facts brought out in the survey in Columbus and in Cincinnati. From two of the better precincts in Columbus fifty-six per cent and forty-five per cent respectively of the non-voters were absent from the city, while from the two poorer precincts, one from a white slum and the other from a colored slum section, only twenty-seven per cent and eight and seven tenths per cent respectively of

[1] Victorian Year Book, 1911–12, page 56.

[2] Data furnished by G. H. Knibbs, Commonwealth Statistician.

the non-voters were absent. In Cincinnati eighty-eight and nine tenths per cent and forty-one and seven tenths per cent respectively of the non-voters of the better precincts were absent and only twenty-five per cent from the slum precinct, indicating that the absentees come from the more desirable classes of our citizenship. Granting that the absentee elector would be a valuable addition to our voting electorate, there remains only the problem of safeguarding his ballot so that it cannot be used fraudulently and of providing these safeguards without adding too much to the already heavy expense of conducting elections.

The danger to be guarded against is succinctly set forth by Justice O'Connor of the High Court of Australia.[3] Speaking of the absent vote he says: "That vote, generally speaking, will be exercised a long way away from the voter's division, it may be out of his state altogether, and probably amongst people who cannot identify him and who know nothing about the form in which his name appears on the electoral roll. So that there is absolutely no safeguard to ensure that the elector himself, and not somebody who is personating him, has obtained the ballot-paper. In this method of voting there are infinitely more opportunities of personating than in any other method, and one would expect the legislature would take particular care, in setting the machinery of the act in motion, that there should be a safeguard concerning the issue of the ballot-paper. Unless that safeguard consists in the obtaining of a witness to the application there is no safeguard, and in the nature of things, there can be no safeguard."

The Australian and probably the Victorian postal ballot laws were repealed because of the frauds that were alleged to have crept in. In Australia they designated a certain class of officials who alone were permitted to attest an absent voter's ballot, thinking by this precaution to have upon the ballot certificate the name of a responsible official whose position would be in danger if the vote was found to be fraudulent.

The North Dakota law makes it possible for electors who expect to be absent on election day to vote before leaving town. This enables traveling salesmen, railroad employees and others who are home a few days prior to election to vote in the home precinct. Others, such as students in the colleges and universities, public officials and inmates of the soldiers' home may vote by mail. This plan has many advantages. Danger of personation is minimized, and the voter may express his judgment concerning local officers and measures. The difficulty is in providing a method of safeguarding the ballots which have been voted until election day, and in avoiding the too great cost of keeping the polls open for ten or fifteen days before election.

In 1909, while a member of the California senate, the Honorable L. H. Roseberry introduced a so-called postal primary law. At that time

[3] Concurring Opinion in Maloney *v.* McEacharn, Commonwealth L. R., Vol. I, page 82.

California was considering the adoption of a direct primary act. A very sharp controversy arose between the present primary law and this bill. The enemies of the principle of direct primaries attempted to use the situation for the purpose of defeating any law upon this subject at all. To relieve the situation and combine all forces, Senator Roseberry finally withdrew the measure, which permitted the present law to be enacted.

The reasons prompting the introduction of Senator Roseberry's measure were, to quote his words, as follows: "A direct primary law is successful only in the degree and to the extent that it secures a representative vote of the electors at the primaries. If two-thirds, half, or less of the registered vote was cast, the law is, in my opinion, only two-thirds, half, or less successful. The great unvoting classes represent in a sense the uninfluenced, as well as a most desirable, vote. If it can be secured, it is often sufficient to turn the tide of battle, and make successful the principle of direct nominations. It has become undisputable that ballots by mail, as used by labor unions, commercial fraternities, and other societies and organizations, are practically unanimous and, therefore, highly successful. People seem to be quite willing to cast a vote, when the ballot is placed on their business desks, or at their homes, and they are allowed to express their opinions privately, at leisure, and without sacrificing their time from other activities. This principle seems to be growing in importance, rather than decreasing, due probably to the intensive activity of our people, and the growing tendency to gear up the energies of the race. Notwithstanding the widespread interest in public affairs, the great body of the people are reluctant voters. It is extraordinary to secure at even the most hotly contested elections more than three-fourths of the registered vote; it is quite ordinary to reach less than one-half.

"The opponents of primary laws are almost right in their contention that such laws are operating with indifferent success, if they are not complete failures, so far as they secure any representative expression of the will of the people in the selection of candidates for public offices.

"To remedy this embarrassing condition, legislators have suggested schemes for penalizing the non-voter through fines, disfranchisements, and other obnoxious measures, which are sad reflections upon the voters of this democratic country. No such schedule of penalties can be at all successful, for the simple reason that they would not be supported by public opinion. The remedy lies in adapting the ballot more properly to the present economic and social conditions of the people. A method must be devised to make voting easier for the majority of our population, or else the duty will be shirked.

"These were some of the reasons which convinced me of the desirability of a ballot by mail. The plan which I had outlined provided for a threefold check upon the ballots sent out and received, including the signature of the voter, or his mark, witnessed by two electors, if he was unable to

write his name. The only objection that was ever raised to this plan, was because of the alleged opportunity it offered for secretly corrupting the voters. I fail to agree with the seriousness of this objection, for three reasons:

"*First.* Because of the extreme difficulty of reaching any considerable number of voters, which are scattered into every home and office of the city, county and state.

"*Second.* Because of the high penalties for buying votes, assisting in the preparation of the ballot, or being present at the time the voter is marking the same, excepting for the purpose of assisting the voter who required such.

"*Third.* Because of the increasing political morality of the people, which resents the intrusion of corrupt influences. Doubtless a number of votes would be corrupted, but any wholesale plan would be impossible; while a large increase of untainted vote would far offset the tainted vote.

"The drift of public opinion is most surely in this direction, for the voters are demanding some revision of our antiquated scheme which compels them to vote at a given time and place, under the pain of disfranchisement. Men are too often away from home on business matters, or are greatly inconvenienced through being forced to leave important affairs and occupations to cast their vote. The facts show that they will not do it, and thus the large class of intelligent, highly desirable, non-voters.

"I know of no more successful system, nor one better adapted to our present economic conditions, than the ballot by mail. Its adoption would mean the absolute vindication of the primary nomination laws, and, in fact, the whole system of voting at both primary and general elections."

William T. Donaldson [4] and L. H. Roseberry.

THE SINGLE TAX AND AMERICAN MUNICIPALITIES

STUDENTS of the single tax should be cautioned in advance that the exemption of improvements and the resort to a land value tax for municipal purposes alone, may not bring in its train all the advantages that will follow the adoption of the full single tax, or the taking of all economic rent, or land value. Indeed, the effects of a total exemption of improvements may conceivably be without any marked advantages, though always to be advocated as a necessary step to the full resumption of social wealth, or land value. For much depends upon local circumstances, assessments, and the rate of taxation.

[4] Of the Ohio Legislative Reference Department.

In 1911 Luther S. Dickey spent several months in the city of Vancouver, as a representative of the *Single Tax Review*, gathering material for the history of the single tax in that city. The May-June number of 1911 contained the results of Mr. Dickey's careful investigations, and on page 13 he said: "The landowners, as a matter of fact, receive greater benefits from the single tax than even the builders and building owners themselves, for while the tax on improvements has been abolished, the land tax has not been increased, and still remains twenty-two mills on the dollar, just what it was before the single tax was adopted." To this the editor of the *Review* appended the following note: "This must be accepted as a statement of fact, and not as favoring the taking of no more than twenty-two mills on the dollar. It is no part of the single tax to favor landowners as landowners. But because ninety-nine per cent of landowners have interests as builders, capitalists or laborers, their gain from the application of the single tax principle must be quite as great as that going to other members of the community. If this tax of twenty-two mills on the dollar leaves the same amount of economic rent or site value in the hands of the landowners as before, or if—as now seems the case in Vancouver—the impetus to prosperity caused by the removal of the tax on buildings has been to actually increase economic rent or site value remaining to landowners, there is even greater necessity of keeping on in the way the city has begun, and taking gradually an ever increasing proportion of land values until the full amount is absorbed for public purposes. Otherwise Vancouver faces the inevitable interruption that comes to a 'boom town' whose history is a matter of record."

Many recent arguments against the single tax, drawn from the example of Vancouver, make the repetition of this caution necessary at this time. Also it is to be remembered that land is assessed at only fifty-five per cent of its value, if my information is correct.

In large cities and towns where the listing of real property under two heads, "value of land" and "value of improvements" obtains, there has been a constant tendency to the higher taxation of land values and lower taxation of improvements. Unimproved city lots, formerly assessed as agricultural land, have been made to bear an increased burden. Everywhere this tendency is observable. The old point of view of assessors in assuming that because land yielded no present revenue it was therefor to be leniently treated, has given way to a saner recognition of what is due the community by those who profit by its growth without commensurate contribution.

In the application of the single tax for municipal purposes, as well as in its territorially wider application in the exemption of agricultural improvements and personalty of various kinds, western Canada has led the way. Vancouver, Victoria and Prince Rupert for local purposes tax land values only. Edmonton adopted the pure land tax in 1912.

In Winnipeg the assessment of buildings is about two-thirds that of land, and pressure is being brought to bear upon the authorities to go further in the direction of the single tax. Though this movement does not lack critics as well as those who prophesy disaster, it appears to have commended itself to the members of these communities, and no formidable effort has been made to return to the old system. The growth of these communities has been phenomenal. In the year in which Edmonton adopted the pure land tax—1912—the value of permits for new buildings rose to $10,250,000 over $2,197,920 in 1911. Medicine Hat, another town to adopt the pure land value tax, had a 400 per cent increase of population in 1912. It took the city council of Vancouver a little more than five minutes to decide that there should be no taxation of improvements this year. On April 27 this was carried without a dissenting vote.

Among the more striking examples of the approach to the single tax in the United States is the city of Houston, Texas. This city derives seventy-five per cent of its revenues from land values and twenty-five per cent from improvements. Personal taxes are not collected in Houston. No more than about ten per cent ever was collected, so it would be more correct to say that, under the present administration, no attempt is made to collect them.

The "Houston plan of taxation" has become suddenly famous along with the interesting personality of its originator, J. J. Pastoriza, one of the officials in the commission government of that city. When elected commissioner some three years ago, Mr. Pastoriza did not wait for permission of the legislature to adopt the single tax plan, but went ahead and applied it, and so popular has it become that few of the citizens of Houston would dream of returning to the old system.

And the results seem to have justified the experiment. When Mr. Pastoriza had finished with his tax bills he found that 5,000 tax payers, or a clear majority, paid less taxes than under the old system. There are no taxes upon credits, notes, mortgages, bonds or stocks, and as a consequence the man who needs money can borrow it at a fair rate of interest. The city announced that it would not place cash upon its assessment rolls, and as a result the bank deposits increased $7,000,000 in two years.

Those who hold vacant land are improving it. The building permits for the first six months of 1912 showed an increase of fifty-five per cent over the first six months of 1911. Population increased fifty per cent in two years. Nor, according to the testimony of Commissioner Pastoriza, has the system made mortgage loans any the less desirable. And as further proof that the system is working well and is popular Commissioner Pastoriza has announced that with the year 1914 land will be assessed at 100 per cent and improvements not at all.

The results in Houston, it may be noted, have not been the same as in Vancouver where land values have greatly risen. In Houston many landlords have reduced the price asked for land, and house rents have in many instances fallen. This is due of course to the fact that the rate is higher than in Vancouver and valuations nearer the true value.

This system has proven immensely popular in Texas, so that Galveston, San Antonio, Waco and Beaumont have taken steps in the same direction, though none of them have yet ventured to go so far.

In view of the results that have followed the adoption of the single tax in Houston it is difficult to understand the grounds of opposition to the very moderate provisions of the Herrick-Schaap bill for New York City which proposed to do in five years what Houston accomplished over night. The purpose of the bill was to reduce the taxation on improvements ten per cent each year for five years until a fifty per cent exemption was reached. There were numerous legislative hearings upon this measure, and arguments before the mayor and members of the city government both for and against. There were hundreds of street meetings, and over thirty-eight thousand signatures were obtained urging upon the legislature the submission of the measure to a referendum. Much popular interest was excited, and the real estate associations of the city, or rather their very active spokesmen, were thrown into something very like a panic. The mayor has appointed a committee to investigate and report, and this committee appears, on the whole, as favorable to the adoption of some tax relief measure for the city as in the present state of public opinion could be hoped for. Their report will be awaited with interest.

About a year ago the city of Pueblo, Colorado, surprised the country by adopting the single tax after a brief campaign carried on almost single-handed by a young man who had become a recent convert to the principles of Henry George. The constitutionality of that law is before the courts, but in the meantime Pueblo's county assessor is at work on the new valuations to be placed on land under the single tax amendment. The Pueblo measure leaves a one per cent tax on improvements to conform with the constitution, and derives the other ninety-nine per cent of the local revenues from land values.

As is known to most readers the state of Pennsylvania passed a law about a year ago providing for a ten per cent reduction of taxes until a fifty per cent reduction is reached, this provision to apply to cities of the second class. The cities coming under this provision are Pittsburgh and Scranton. So little excitement was caused by this law that it is doubtful if a majority of the tax payers of either of these cities knew of the passage of the law in advance of the presentation of their tax bills. But there will be no panic, and the real estate interests of these cities will find no trouble in conforming to the new conditions.

In California there is a movement for home rule in taxation and this

is to be the subject of a referendum in the fall. The impulse which has set in motion this campaign is undoubtedly the desire of the cities of the state to emulate the example of Houston and the Canadian cities.

In Washington, District of Columbia, one of the district commissioners, Oliver P. Newman, has urged that the district revenues be raised by a tax on land values alone, and in this he is known to have the support of another member of the commission, F. L. Siddons. The commission consists of but three members.

The city of Everett, Washington, at one election defeated, and at a subsequent election passed the single tax by a large majority. This measure was declared unconstitutional.

This exhausts the list of single tax experiments as applied to or attempted by municipalities in the United States. But there is not a city in America in which this proposal to relieve improvements by transferring all or a part of taxation to land values is not being strongly urged. No matter what our convictions may be as to the justice or expediency of this policy its growth is one of the most notable civic phenomena of our times, and cannot fail to have arrested the attention of every thoughtful student of one of the most complicated municipal problems.

Joseph Dana Miller.[1]

THE TREATMENT OF LAND IN RATE CASES

OUT of all the obscure and conflicting decisions of courts and commissions, three lines of investigation are coming to be recognized as essential before reaching a decision upon the rate which a public utility, recognized as a natural monopoly, should be allowed to charge.

First, we must ascertain the probable cost of replacing the physical property on the basis of present prices of labor and material, and existing conditions of street congestion, etc.

Second, we must ascertain, so far as possible, what the physical property now in use has cost the company, which may be and often is very much less than what it would cost to duplicate the property to-day.

Third, we must examine as thoroughly as possible the financial history of the company with a view to determining what light, if any, it may throw upon the claims of going value, the sacrifice of the stock and bond holder, rates of return, etc.

Rate cases usually arise where a public utility in light, telephones, street railways, steam railroads, etc., is prosperous. The public are not so eager to demand reductions of rates where it is a matter of common

[1] Editor, *Single Tax Review*

knowledge that a utility, even though well managed, has averaged less than 6 per cent on the money actually put in by the stock and bond holders. Where a company is prosperous it usually seeks to impress a court or commission with the mistaken idea that the cost of reproduction new to-day of the physical property and of the business, is the only thing to be considered.

There lies before me at this moment the claim of the Bell telephone company of Pennsylvania in hearings before the state commission of that state, that although the cost of the property, as shown by the auditor's books has been only $51,798,938, the estimated replacement value as of August 31, 1912, was $73,257,108. Of this excess of over 40 per cent in the estimated replacement value over the cost reported on the books, $917,901 is the estimated increase in the value of the land above its cost to the company of $1,037,315.

Similar claims are made in nearly every municipal rate investigation. They will assume great importance when the Interstate commerce commission, in its valuation of all the railroads of the United States, enters upon the investigation of those railroads that have had large land grants or that have extensive terminals in our big cities. It is not proposed in this brief article to touch upon any of the claims above mentioned excepting with regard to the increase in land values.

It may be frankly conceded at the start that if the courts shall refuse to recognize any basis for fair value in a rate case, except the present estimated cost of replacement new less depreciation, all increase of land values must be conceded to our public utilities. Fortunately the courts have indicated a readiness to continue to follow the famous United States supreme court decision in *Smyth* vs. *Ames*, of 1898, to the effect that the cost of the property and its past history are to be considered as well as the estimated cost of reproduction to-day.

The original cost of land to a public utility has not yet, however, been given satisfactory consideration by the courts. The general tendency has been to value these lands at approximately the value of adjoining land at the time of the rate investigation, but without much, if any, allowance for so-called plottage value or for the peculiar value which the land in a given location might have for the special business of a power house or gas works.

The federal supreme court in the recent Minnesota rate case has gone further in rejecting the replacement theory, or the reproduction theory as it is usually called, than hitherto. In this famous case, decided June 9, 1913, two most important propositions were accepted, as shown in paragraphs 6 and 7 of the syllabus of the decision and as elaborated by Justice Hughes in the full text of the unanimous decision.

These propositions are in the first place that nothing should be added for compulsory purchase or for probable hold-ups by land owners, when

a continuous right of way or a large tract was needed, or for the cost of removal from the land of buildings not needed for a public utility, and which would be located to-day on land that might be purchased for a public utility, but would probably not have been on the land at the time of the original purchase. All this is embodied in the following sentence of the syllabus:

"6. Estimates of the value of the right of way, yards, and terminals of a railway company cannot properly be based, when testing the reasonableness of state regulation of its rates, upon the supposed value for railway purposes in excess of the fair market value of contiguous or similarly situated property."

The railroads had very truly contended that if land were to be acquired for a railroad to-day, the cost of removing improvements not needed for railroad purposes and the hold-up price that would be imposed by land owners because of the necessities of the utilizer, would be paid, under the names of a multiple, nuisance value, etc.

It is undeniable that if the reproductive or replacement theory were to be accepted as final, the courts would have to allow this multiple and the nuisance value of existing improvements. Yet the court, as has been seen, refused to allow it in the last rate case which it has decided.

In the second place, the court in this case refused to allow any so-called overhead charges or costs of acquisition and the cost of holding the land until the track, bridges, etc. were built and the property was ready for operation. This is brought out in the following sentence of the syllabus:

"7. The fair present value of a railway company's right of way, yards, and terminals cannot be increased when testing the reasonableness of state regulation of its rates, by adding further sums calculated on that value for engineering, superintendence, legal expenses, contingencies, and interest during construction."

There is no doubt that over-head expenses must be incurred in the process of building a railroad. Engineering, legal and other expenses must be incurred in the selection and acquisition of the land, and the interest and taxes must be paid on the entire investment, while the track and other structures are being built.

Yet all these matters are brushed aside by the court and only the value of the adjoining land, without any of these over-head charges, is taken as the basis of a proper appraisal.

The court, then, while taking the value of adjoining land as the basis, has rejected the estimated cost of buying and holding land to-day needed for the site of a public utility.

The court gives no reasons for its rejection of both the original cost and the reproduction cost theories, but it seems to have had in mind that because the lands had cost much less in the past than they would cost

to-day, it was at least fair to appraise the property at less than what it would cost to buy similar land at the time of a rate investigation.

Having taken a long step away from the replacement theory, it is entirely possible that the court in future decisions will approach still nearer to the original cost of the land, as the fair basis for an appraisal in a rate case.

If the courts come to recognize that our public utilities are granted *quasi*-governmental rights, such as that of condemnation, occupancy of streets, highways, etc., for a public purpose, and are in a way allowed to have these rights as a trustee for the public, then the increase in value of these lands can no more be retained by the trustee or agent than in the case of an ordinary trust. In the latter case, while entitled to a fair return on all his labor and ability, the trustee is not entitled to a rise in the value of the assets which he controls for another.

It might be unwise and unjust to apply the idea fully at the present time. The investing public has accommodated itself in large measure to the belief that the rise in the value of land would inure to the benefit of the utility owning the land, the same as in the case of enterprises not partaking of a *quasi*-public character, or as the courts have said, "affected with a public interest."

If, however, the matter come about gradually, so that the investing public can in a few years adjust itself to the transition, there is justice in a gradual restoration to the community of the unearned increase of land values which has come to all public utilities. Whatever be the merits of shifting local taxes gradually from improvements to land values, there are special reasons for refusing to allow unearned increments to a monopoly which has been granted public franchise in order to supply vital social needs. If the view commonly held be correct, that the land of a gas company should be treated like ordinary land, then such a company, other things remaining the same, has the right to raise the price every time an improvement near the gas works raises the value of land in the neighborhood. As soon as this is understood, there will be a general revolt against the present habit of most of the courts and commissions of giving full weight, in rate cases, to the enormous increase of land values since their acquisition. Fortunately the most august of all the world commissions, the Interstate commerce commission, and also the veteran commission of them all—and in many respects the best of our state regulating bodies—the Massachusetts gas and electric light commission, have refused to accept this claim of modern monopoly.

The Interstate commerce commission, in its epoch-making decision of February 22, 1911, relative to advances in freight rates, in Trans-Missouri and Illinois freight committee territories, held as follows,—through Mr. Lane, now secretary of the interior, who wrote the decision, and whose opinions, by the way, have been recently upheld in other important cases by the federal supreme court:

"The position, therefore, taken by the Burlington is that it has a right vested in it by law to add to its freight charges such amounts as will yield at the present time a fair rate of interest upon more than $270,000,000, which does not represent either the proceeds from the sale of a share of stock or a dollar of borrowed money, so long as the rate of the shipper is not unreasonable. . . .

"It remains for the supreme court yet to decide that a public agency, such as a railroad created by public authority, vested with governmental authority, may continuously increase its rates in proportion to the increase in its value, either (1) because of betterments which it has made out of income, or (2) because of the growth of the property in value due to the increase in value of the land which the company owns.

"If the position of the Burlington is sound and is a precise expression of what our courts will hold to be the law, then, as we are told, there is certainly the danger that we may never expect railroad rates to be lower than they are at present. On the contrary there is the unwelcome promise made in this case that they will continually advance. In the face of such an economic philosophy, if stable and equitable rates are to be maintained, the suggestion has been made that it would be wise for the Government to protect its people by taking to itself these properties at present value rather than await the day, perhaps 30 or 50 years hence, when they will have multiplied in value ten or twenty fold."

EDWARD W. BEMIS.[1]

Chicago.

STREET RAILWAY RE-SETTLEMENTS AND NEGOTIATIONS FOR MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

WITHIN the last two years the movement for municipal ownership of street railways has taken on new life in a number of American cities. San Francisco and Seattle have commenced the municipal operation of certain street railway lines. Detroit and Toledo have voted for municipal ownership and a bill for the purchase of the street railways in the city of Washington by the district government has been favorably reported by the district committee of the house. During this same period the purchase of the telephone and telegraph lines of the country by the federal government has been recommended by the postmaster-general and has received some support in congress. The construction of the big municipal electric lighting and power plant in Cleveland which is to sell current at three cents per kilowatt hour has been widely considered. This renaissance in the municipal ownership movement has called forth an extraordinary volume of anti-municipal-ownership literature from the public service corporations and their friends. The outbursts of wisdom on this subject have been

[1] Dr. Bemis, author of *Municipal Monopolies,* has achieved a national reputation as a rate expert. His latest employment has been as the city representative on the board of supervising engineers of the Chicago street railway system.

almost as numerous and widespread as those which resulted from the municipal ownership campaign in Chicago under the Dunne régime just prior to the adoption of the settlement ordinances of 1907.

A number of important cities are struggling with the problems of franchise renewal or of municipal purchase. Kansas City, Missouri, has just adopted a new re-settlement ordinance, while Des Moines is in the midst of negotiations, and Toledo, after prolonged but futile negotiations, has voted to go straight to municipal ownership. Detroit is working out the municipal ownership problem without any further discussion, in public at least, of a possible renewal of the franchise. San Francisco, where the Geary street municipal line was established as an opening wedge less than two years ago, is now considering the possibility of taking over the entire street railway system.

On July 7 last a substantial majority of the electors of Kansas City voted their approval of a re-settlement street railway ordinance which had been approved by the mayor on June 15, after the conclusion of negotiations extending over a period of two or three years. This settlement is significant in many ways. It follows the Chicago plan in that it fixes the recognized capital value of the existing property and provides for a minimum fixed return upon the investment and for an ultimate division of profits between the city and the company. The Kansas City franchise also retains the five-cent fare, and provides for a general system of free transfers; but children between the ages of 8 and 12 inclusive, will be carried on half fare tickets and chilren under 8 will ride free. This franchise goes beyond the Chicago ordinances in its provision for the amortization out of the surplus, prior to a division of profits, of the intangible element included in the initial capital value recognized by the ordinance, and also in its provisions for the safety of the investment. The investment not only will be strengthened by the use of the surplus to crowd out the "water" in the capitilization, but also will be secure at the expiration of the franchise, as the city will be required to take over the property, secure a purchaser for it or permit the company to continue to operate it. The basic return, which in the Chicago ordinances is five per cent, has been increased to six per cent in the Kansas City settlement, but no definite allowance is made in the latter for additional percentages representing contractor's profits and brokerage on new capital supplied by the company. The Kansas City agreement also provides a complex and somewhat curious system of dual control under which the city is to name indirectly the minority of the company's board of directors, and the financial and physical control of the company's operations is to be placed under dual supervision. The board of control, with one member representing the company and one the city, with an arbitrator called in from time to time to settle their differences, constitutes a new experiment in street railway management,

being radically different from the Chicago plan, the Cleveland plan, and the New York plan.

This Kansas City franchise is claimed by its friends to contain all the progressive principles heretofore advocated by the franchise committee of the National Municipal League, but in spite of these claims, Mr. Peters, the writer, and both members of that committee, joined in a series of drastic criticisms of the franchise which were submitted to the Anti-Franchise Committee during the three weeks' campaign that preceded the election. This franchise requires the approval of the public service commission of Missouri before it goes into full effect. It covers a period of thirty years, but reserves the right to the city to take over the property before that time.

In Des Moines, after several years of litigation over the claim of the street railway company to a perpetual franchise, the supreme court of Iowa finally handed down a decision in March, 1913, substantially to the effect that the company had no franchise, its former franchise having expired in 1898. In view of the equities of the situation, however, the court allowed the company two years within which to secure a new franchise, dispose of its property or remove it from the streets. Subsequent to this decision, negotiations were conducted in regard to a new franchise drafted by Mayor James R. Hanna, which is described as having provided for "(1) first-class service, (2) under absolute city control, (3) at the actual cost of the service based on a reasonable capitalization with fares guaranteed sufficient to keep up interest and dividend charges, depreciation, cost of operation, etc., (4) right of purchase at a reasonable value, (5) complete arbitration provisions." As a basis for this franchise a capital value was established which cut out about $1,300,000 of the company's $5,300,000 nominal capitalization, but still covered several hundred thousand dollars more than the actual present value of the physical property. The capital value as fixed in the Hanna franchise was sufficient to take care of outstanding bonds and the company's floating debts, but not sufficient to take care of any of the stock, which is said to have been issued originally as a premium on bond sales or for promotion and kindred purposes.

This franchise was unacceptable to the company, and some time ago President Emil G. Schmidt submitted a new draft of franchise on behalf of the Des Moines City Railway Company. This draft recognized a capital value as follows: $2,754,000 representing the company's bonds now outstanding; $1,305,000 representing the par value of the company's stock; $1,356,000 representing floating debts, making a total of $5,415,000, to which should be added the par value of stocks or bonds issued by the company for acquiring $1,500,000 in cash to be used immediately for reconstruction, rehabilitation, new lines and extensions. Future expenditures on capital account would also be recognized. This capital value

was refused by the city council (commission) and thereupon the company refused to negotiate further on this basis and began to suggest a franchise without any mention of capitalization, starting with a five-cent fare for two or three years and thereafter six tickets for a quarter and half fare for children, with provisions for the regulation of service but without any mention of purchase.

One of the most interesting provisions of the franchise draft recently submitted by the company was its adaptation of the "Boston sliding scale" to a street railway problem. It was suggested that the capital stock of the company should never be less than 25 per cent nor more than 50 per cent of the aggregate amount of securities issued by the company and that the company should be allowed to pay dividends at the rate of six per cent per annum, and higher dividends under the following conditions: seven per cent during any year in which the company sold six tickets for twenty-five cents; eight per cent when the company sold five tickets for twenty cents; nine per cent when the company sold four tickets for fifteen cents; and ten per cent when the company sold ten tickets for thirty-five cents; with a provision that the company should not be required to sell tickets for less than the maximum fare unless the dividends paid by the company subsequent to the granting of this franchise should be equal to an average of not less than six per cent per annum.

It is too early to foretell the outcome of the Des Moines negotiations.

The street railway situation in Detroit has been acute for twenty years. Hazen S. Pingree, after graduating from the mayoralty into the governorship, secured legislation authorizing the purchase of the street railway system by the city and negotiated with the company up to the point of agreeing upon a price. Litigation was started, however, which resulted in the overthrow of the enabling legislation and the declaration by the supreme court of Michigan that municipal ownership of street railways would be in conflict with the section of the state constitution forbidding the state to engage in any work of internal improvement. After this decision, agitation for a home rule amendment giving to Detroit the right to undertake municipal ownership was carried on without success for many years. The state legislature refused to submit the desired amendment to popular vote. Finally, however, a convention was called in 1907 for the general revision of the state constitution. Prof. John A. Fairlie, then of the University of Michigan, and Frederick F. Ingram[1], of Detroit, were largely responsible for the incorporation of the doctrine of home rule into the new constitution, which was ratified by the people and went into effect January 1, 1909. Under this constitution the right of a city to own and operate public utilities, including street railways, was affirmatively established.

Detroit went blundering on, however, for several years in the effort

[1] Now Democratic candidate for mayor on a municipal ownership platform.—EDITOR.

to get the practical machinery for the acquisition of the street railways embodied in the city charter. The desired charter amendment finally got past the hurdle of technical difficulties and was submitted to popular vote in April, 1913, when it was ratified by the astonishing affirmative vote of 81 per cent of the electors who went to the polls. This charter amendment provided for the appointment of a street railway commission to acquire or construct a street railway system for the city, to be made exclusive as soon as possible.

It should be stated that many of the most important franchises of the Detroit United Railway expired several years ago and the company has been unable to secure a renewal of them. Detroit has been growing so rapidly that the increase in traffic has been phenomenal. During the past fifteen years, however, the perennial struggle between the city and the company, with franchises expiring, has prevented the construction of any substantial mileage of extensions. This extraordinary combination of circumstances has resulted in large earnings and the strengthening of the company's financial position.

The city is badly in need of extensions and of relief in the down-town district by re-routing or otherwise. William Barclay Parsons, the engineer who constructed the first New York subway, has recently been employed to make a complete investigation and report upon the means for the relief of street railway traffic conditions in Detroit. He is to include in his report a discussion of the feasibility of a subway or of elevated lines, as well as the possibilities of rerouting.

The street railway commission has also employed Prof. Edward W. Bemis to value the properties of the Detroit United Railway preliminary to their purchase or condemnation by the city under the municipal ownership amendment. It is said that the Michigan railroad commission will also order an appraisal of the property by an engineer of its own selection in a case now pending on the company's application for permission to issue additional securities.

The present mayor, who was elected on a strong municipal ownership program, is now being attacked by the "original" municipal ownership men as a traitor to the cause. This issue has already blighted more than one political career in Detroit and unless the present commission succeeds in bringing about the speedy acquisition of the properties, it is likely that the end of popular upheavals on the municipal ownership issue is not yet in sight.

In certain respects the Detroit municipal ownership charter amendment represents a distinct advance in street railway policy. Any contract for the purchase of existing railways, or for their condemnation, will require the approval of the people by a three-fifths vote at a general or special election. The common council is authorized to issue bonds for street railway purposes up to two per cent of the assessed valuation of real and

personal property against the general credit of the city. All additional bonds required for the purchase or construction of the street railways must be issued on the security of the street railway property alone, including a franchise to operate the street railways in case of foreclosure, but such franchise may not run for a longer period than twenty years. The form of this franchise will have to be approved by three-fifths of the electors voting on the question at a general or special election. Although Detroit has long been a low-fare city and although the people are thoroughly imbued with the importance of low fares, still the municipal ownership amendment, ratified by the overwhelming vote above mentioned, was not drafted in such a way as to promise three-cent fares or any other specific rate of fare. On the contrary, the amendment provides that the rate of fare shall be sufficient to pay: (a) operating and maintenance expenses, including paving and sprinkling between the tracks; (b) taxes on the physical property, the same as though privately owned; (c) fixed charges; and (d) a sufficient annual percentage to provide a sinking fund to pay off mortgage bonds at their maturity and an additional percentage to provide "in the sound discretion" of the street railway commission a sufficient sum to pay, as soon as practicable, the bonds issued for street railway purposes against the general credit of the city, "to the end that the entire cost of said street railway system shall be paid eventually out of the earnings thereof."

From the standpoint of those who desire to see municipal ownership successful, it is probably a fortunate thing that the Detroit experiment has been undertaken on this conservative financial basis. Still, an increase of fares under municipal ownership, even though necessary as a means of making the street railway system pay for itself, may prove to be more or less unpopular if actually put into effect.

The Toledo traction situation is also a snarl of long standing. The people there have been thoroughly educated to demand three-cent fares and have thus far successfully resisted the renewal of the expired franchises upon any other basis. Just before the close of Mayor Whitlock's term of office, a three-cent fare ordinance was passed, to go into effect on March 27, 1914, when the company's principal franchises expired.

Two or three years ago Mayor Whitlock secured a temporary concession, in accordance with which the company has been selling six tickets for a quarter, good at any time, and eight tickets for a quarter, good during two of the morning and two of the evening rush hours. When the time came for the three-cent measure to go into effect, the company announced its intention not to comply with the ordinance. Out of this situation developed a curious result. The company's conductors demanded the former rate of fare. Any citizen who refused to pay it was carried for nothing. In fact, this condition has continued to prevail throughout a period of many months. It is said that most of the people pay the fare

asked by the company. During this period of uncertainty, negotiations between the city and Henry L. Doherty, who controls the company, have been active and almost continuous, but the city administration has refused to accept any franchise proposition except on the basis of a permanent three-cent fare, while the company has offered to make a year's test of the three-cent fare under certain conditions and leave the subsequent rate of fare to be determined upon the basis of the results achieved during the experimental period. There seems to be a great confusion of issues and conflict of interests in Toledo at the present time.

On August 4, a municipal ownership ordinance drafted by the city solicitor was submitted to the people at a special election, and was ratified by a rather slender majority of the electors who took the trouble to go to the polls. This ordinance looks to the acquisition by the city, not only of the street railways but also of the lighting and heating business controlled by the street railway company. The actual acquisition of this property cannot be consummated unless the necessary bond issues are later approved by a two-thirds vote of the people. In the meantime, the company has brought an action in the United States District Court to enjoin the city from further enforcement of the three-cent fare ordinance.

The situation is so confused as to make the outcome of the street railway agitation in Toledo extremely uncertain, so far as the near future is concerned.

DELOS F. WILCOX.

THE UTILITIES BUREAU[1]

THE mayors of a number of American cities, prominent among whom are Rudolph Blankenburg of Philadelphia, John Purroy Mitchel of New York, Carter H. Harrison of Chicago, George W. Shroyer of Dayton, and Newton D. Baker of Cleveland, have jointly organized a bureau to be known as the "Utilities Bureau," through which

[1] The Need for a Public Utilities Bill in Pennsylvania, Hon. John K. Tener, vol. i, p. 401.

The Chicago and Cleveland Street Railway Settlements, Delos F. Wilcox, vol. 1, p. 630.

Boston's Street Railways, A. E. Pinanski, vol. 1, p. 212.

State vs. Municipal Regulation of Public Utilities, John M. Eshleman, vol. ii, p. 11.

State vs. Municipal Regulation of Public Utilities, Lewis R. Works, vol. ii, p. 24.

A suggested Sliding Scale of Dividends for Street Railways, Determined by Quality of Service, James W. S. Peters, vol. ii, p. 31.

The New York Subway Contracts, Delos F. Wilcox, vol. ii, p. 375.

Cincinnati's Traction Problems, Elliott Hunt Pendleton, vol. ii, p. 617.

Municipal Home Rule and Public Utility Franchises, Delos F. Wilcox, vol. iii, p. 13.

Public Utility Legislation in Illinois, John A. Fairlie, vol. iii, p. 28.

Municipal vs. State Control of Public Utilities, J. Allen Smith, vol. iii, p. 34.

Minnesota Home Rule and Wisconsin Regulation, Clyde Lyndon King, vol. iii, p. 564.

American cities may co-operate in exchanging data as to cost factors and service standards in municipal utilities. The demand for this bureau grew out of the numerous and complicated difficulties in the way of securing what seemed to be fair rates and adequate service standards in many of the cities.

On June 27, 1914, Mayor Blankenburg sent a letter to the mayors of the larger of the American cities, stating the situation and inquiring as to the interest of these mayors, both in a nation-wide conference to be held in Philadelphia in the autumn to discuss various phases of public utilities, and also as to the need for a utilities bureau. In this letter, Mayor Blankenburg said in part:

The side of the people has seldom if ever been adequately presented before public service commissions, while the interests of the public utility companies are presented and argued by the best informed and most able men in the country. If the cities do not join together for the presentation of their cases as the public utility companies have, the laws and precedents established by the commissions stand in danger of being biased by the able arguments of the representatives of these corporations.

The equipment required for an adequate presentation of the rights and interests of the people involves a degree and extent of technical knowledge and information which it is not practicable for any one city to obtain. This knowledge and information is much the same for each city, and its cumulative use would greatly add to its value. It must be borne in mind that the utility companies constitute themselves an offensive and defensive alliance, probably stronger than any other interest in this country. Its weakest member is never without information and assistance of every kind.

To meet this situation, it has been suggested that there should be formed a bureau of public utilities research which shall equip itself to give to the cities the same able assistance which the public utility companies' associations give to the public utility companies, thus in effect constituting an offensive and defensive alliance among the cities similar to that existing among public utility corporations.

To this end, we are preparing to form a permanent organization of this character. I am writing to you to ascertain your interest in this matter and to ask whether you would be represented at a nation-wide conference of city officials to be held in this city in the autumn to discuss the various phases of public utility problems as affecting the people, and how they may best be dealt with.

Mayor Mitchel of New York, Mayor Harrison of Chicago, Mayor Baker of Cleveland, and Mayor Shroyer of Dayton, join me in making this inquiry. Mayor Mitchel and Mayor Harrison will personally represent New York and Chicago at this conference. We are confident that the result will be a great step forward in the matter of securing a proper presentation of the people's side in utility cases.

In an interview given out on Monday, June 29, Mayor Blankenburg said as to the purpose of this bureau:

The idea was directly suggested by the very efficient associations for the exchange of experience, information and resources to which the pub-

lic utilities companies belong. We want to provide an organization for our cities that will do for the people all over the United States what those associations are doing for the public utility corporations.

We believe most heartily in the principle of regulation through public service commissions, and we want to co-operate with the commissions by presenting the citizen's side at their hearings as effectively as the corporation side has been presented in the past, so that these commissions will not be placed in the rather unfair position of having to judge a situation where only one side is adequately presented.

We hope and expect that through public service commissions the problems now rising in regard to public utilities are going to be adjusted to the satisfaction of all concerned. The sooner the people's side of the question is adequately and fairly represented before these commissions, the sooner they will come to some final and permanent standard of decisions.

It is only since the establishment of regulative commissions that this duty has devolved upon the public officials, and I feel that we have been slow in recognizing this responsibility and responding to it. But now, I feel all the more that not a moment should be lost in taking action, because most of the public service commissions are yet new, in some states they do not yet exist. Those established have shown the greatest consideration of both sides. They have been very conservative in their decisions, and as a rule have not committed themselves unequivocably to any definite policies. This shows that they realize the difficulty of the problem before them, and that, before establishing precedents and customs, they are holding themselves open for every possible avenue of information which might justly influence their decisions.

Since this letter was sent out, a board of trustees of leading citizens, known for their civic virility, and for their nation-wide interest in public matters, has been chosen for the Utilities bureau. This board includes the following:

Louis D. Brandeis, Boston, lawyer. Counsel for Interstate commerce commission on application of Eastern railroads for 5 per cent increase.

Charles R. Van Hise, Madison, president, University of Wisconsin.

Frederick A. Cleveland, New York, director of the New York bureau of municipal research; formerly chairman of the president's commission on economy and efficiency.

Leo S. Rowe, Philadelphia, professor of political science, University of Pennsylvania. President of the American academy of political and social science.

Charles F. Jenkins, Philadelphia, publisher. Proprietor, *Farm Journal.*

Samuel S. Fels, Philadelphia, manufacturer.

Felix Frankfurter, Cambridge, Mass., administrator and lawyer; professor of law, Harvard University; chief legal adviser of the colonial administration of the United States under Presidents Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson.

The bureau is now organized and ready for work. Its temporary address is 216 City Hall, Philadelphia.

Mayor Blankenburg has sent letters to several hundred mayors asking them to join in the conference definitely set for November 12–14 in Philadelphia, and asking them to send in any material they may have as to their own municipal utilities, and stating that the bureau was ready for work.

When it is remembered that the total capital in electric light and street railway companies in this country to-day is estimated to exceed eight billion dollars, and of this eight billion, nearly five and one half billions are controlled by holding companies, it will be more fully realized what a titanic problem a city has to cope with, when, single-handed, it asks for adequate rates and proper service from its public utilities. Through this new bureau, data can be exchanged among all the various cities as to their rates, cost factors and service standards. The average public official now, when the question is raised as to the reasonableness of rates and service standards of the utilities within his city, at once sends out a volley of letters to public officials elsewhere. The result is information inadequately supplied and a constant harassing of public officials for information of a detailed character which it is usually impossible for the official to provide. The bureau will collect these facts from authoritative sources and thus be in a position to give to any city official facts that could not possibly be secured without very heavy expense in any other way.

The bureau has received commendation from experts, business men, editors, mayors, and last, but not least, from many of the leading public service commissioners themselves. A number of the commissions have, as a body, endorsed the idea while individual commissioners have written in saying that such a bureau, properly manned and adequately supported, would be of inestimable value, not only to public officials and citizens, but to the utility commissions themselves. These commissions and commissioners have pointed out that, as a usual thing, the public side of the question has been inadequately presented and poorly supported, whereas the corporation point of view has been presented by the best of experts and lawyers; and that, moreover, the public point of view has been hampered for want of funds while the corporate point of view has been financed to as full an extent as could possibly be advantageous.

The mayors of all cities have been cordially invited to send delegations from their cities to the Philadelphia conference on November 12–14. If any have been inadvertently omitted from the personal call, it is only because of the practical impossibility of getting adequate mailing lists for such purposes. All mayors not receiving letters and printed matter either as to the program or conference are cordially solicited to send delegations and representatives. Morris Llewellyn Cooke, the director of Philadelphia's Department of public works, has been asked by the mayors

to prepare the program for the conference and to organize the bureau. Suggestions as to either are solicited by him.

Perchance the best evidence of the public interest in the bureau can be shown by a few excerpts from the many editorials endorsing the movement.

The editor of *The Times* of Oswego, N. Y., said: "If nothing more is done by the organization than to arm the community with a complete knowledge of its own case, the alliance will be worth while." In *The News*, of Birmingham, Alabama, appeared the following: "One of the important functions of the organization would be to compile data relative to the operation of public service corporations, these data to be at the disposal of the municipalities embraced in the organizations. That this would be a helpful function is apparent. As matters stand now, the city that is fighting against unjust rates is severely handicapped by lack of information upon which to predicate its contest. It has no source of direct and positive information, but must depend upon such facts as can be picked up here and there by correspondence with officials in other cities. Contrast this with the resources of the public service corporation, with its many channels of information and its corps of experts, and it can be seen at once that the municipality is placed at a great disadvantage." The following editorial appeared in *The News* of Montreal: "No city can acquire for itself the technical information required for an adequate representation of the rights of the people, and the utility corporations have already constituted themselves a close co-operative alliance, powerful and alert, and at the service of every member. It is obvious that under existing conditions, the large cities of both Canada and the United States are at a disadvantage, being pitted against the best experts and the most able legal minds in the country, backed by full information and unlimited means. It is to remove this handicap and put the people on a basis of equality with the utility companies that the bureau of public utility research is projected." *The Knickerbocker Press* of Albany, N. Y. said: "Such a bureau will be a better guarantee of a fair deal all around—on the part of the corporations themselves, on the part of the state public service boards which too often discriminate against municipalities, and on the part of the municipalities and the public. With this bureau in operation cities will be armed intelligently to meet the well prepared corporation arguments against lower rates and better service. An editorial in *The Times*, Washington, reads as follows: "The mayors of experience have long since discovered that the franchise holding concerns invariably make common cause to get as much as they can and to hold all they get. There are national organizations of street railway and gas and electric and heaven knows how many other special interests, which hold their conventions and plan to support one another in all their onslaughts on communities from which they want privileges."

Clyde Lyndon King, Ph.D.

Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.

CIVIC SECRETARYSHIP AS PUBLIC SERVICE

A PRELIMINARY conference on "Civic secretaryship as public service—the essential question in social center administration"—was held in Madison, Wis., on June 19 and 20. A larger meeting was held at the same place and devoted to the same theme on July 2 and 3.

In his call for the conference the state superintendent of the department of public education, C. P. Cary, said:

The movement for developing the civic, social, and recreational, that is, the larger educational resources of each community through the use of the school-house by adults for civic expression, by older youth for training in self-government and by the whole community for wholesome recreation, has grown in the past few years out of the tentative and experimental stage. We know from the results of experience in many places in Wisconsin and elsewhere that systematic and continuous social center development is possible only where there is the definite placing of responsibility for secretarial service and leadership in each community. This brings at once the question as to the proper remuneration of the person responsible for this work and the question as to the proper method of its administration.

The conference was the outgrowth of the work of Edward J. Ward as civic adviser to the bureau of civic and social center development of the university extension department of the University of Wisconsin. In 1911 the Wisconsin legislature passed a law [1] section 2 of which provided:

Where the citizens of any community are organized into a nonpartisan, nonsectarian, nonexclusive association for the presentation and discussion of public questions, the school board or other body having charge of the school-houses or other public properties which are capable of being used as meeting places for such organization, when not being used for their prime purpose, shall provide, free of charge, light, heat, and janitor service, where necessary, and shall make such other provisions as may be necessary for the free and convenient use of such building or grounds, by such organization for weekly, bi-weekly, or monthly gatherings at such times as the citizens' organization shall request or designate.

This mandatory section of the law is followed by a permissive section in which school boards are authorized to make provision without charge for other community uses of public school buildings and grounds, section 3 reading:

The school board or other board having charge of the school-houses or other public properties, may provide for the free and gratuitous use of the school-houses or other public properties under their charge for such other civic, social, and recreational activities, as in their opinion do not interfere with the prime use of the buildings or properties.

[1] Chapter 514, Laws of 1911.

In the opinion of Mr. Ward, the reason school boards have not taken advantage of this law permitting them to make provision for other uses of the school plants than those of citizenship deliberation "is the same reason that explains why the use of this public property for organized presentation and discussion of public questions has been sporadic. This law makes no provision for the appointment and remuneration of a person in each district who shall be responsible for the work of organizing and directing the community uses of the public school plant; and school boards are properly hesitant about having the public property under their charge opened for use without responsible direction."

Because of this cautious attitude on the part of one Wisconsin school board which refused to provide for the public use of a school gymnasium upon the request of citizens who desired this provision, the legislature at the session of 1912–13 amended the law, section 2 of chapter 514 of the laws of 1911, to read:

> Where the citizens of any community are organized into a nonpartisan, nonsectarian, nonexclusive association for the presentation and discussion of public questions or for the promotion of public health by giving instruction in any topic relating thereto or in physical culture and hygiene or by the practicing of physical exercises and the presentation and discussion of topics relating thereto, the school board or other body having charge of the school-houses or other public properties which are capable of being used as meeting places for such organization, when not being used for their prime purpose, shall provide, free of charge, light, heat, and janitor service, where necessary, and shall make such other provisions as may be necessary for the free and convenient use of such building or grounds, by such organization for weekly, bi-weekly, or monthly gatherings at such times as the citizens' organization shall request or designate. All such gatherings shall be free to the public.

In the three years that this law has been in operation in Wisconsin Mr. Ward states that "there has not been a single case of disorder or injury to property in the use of the public school-houses as headquarters of civic deliberation where the body using the building has been a genuine community organization such as this law contemplates. But, notwithstanding the general endorsement of the movement for citizenship organization for deliberation, by national and state leaders and organizations of various sorts, but, to quote the statement of Mr. Ward's bureau, the development has "not only not gone on to include the organization of the young people for training in self-government and the provision of wholesome recreational opportunities, but the community assembling of adult citizens for deliberation upon public questions has *generally* begun to languish after a time and, in many cases, when the limit of volunteer willingness (usually of the school principal) to perform public service for nothing has been reached, the community civic assembling has been abandoned." A very different record is shown, according

to the same authority, in those communities where civic secretarial service is made responsible by being definitely remunerated.

The adviser sent out, at the suggestion of the superintendent of education to some 800 in all a call for volunteer workers. Two hundred responded and agreed to undertake, without remuneration for it, important but difficult public service. And, considering the fact that these were mostly from men and women at the head of the public schools, who in Wisconsin are usually burdened to the limit of their strength by work that should be done by subordinates, and considering the fact that they are, as a rule, underpaid, this was regarded as a high percentage. The bureau reported that "so long as this work is unremunerated, not more than one-fourth (and probably the number would be less after the first year) are likely to undertake it. Two hundred said they would undertake the work. They meant to do what they promised; and they tried to do it. But only *about fifty*, one-fourth of those who said they would try, achieved any real success. That is to say, about one-sixteenth of the whole number to whom the opportunity to perform public service without remuneration was presented, actually rendered the service."

Why? Mr. Ward asked and then replied: "The head of the bureau of social center development not only asked that question by letter, but in visits to more than thirty towns sought the answer. While there were other minor explanations, the answer appeared to be largely, if not entirely, that the secretarial service of the school principal was not regarded as actually and officially belonging to his function as a public servant. For the sake, not only of the money, but primarily for the support of the school principal in efficiently rendering this service upon which effective community organization depends, it is *necessary* that this work of civic secretaryship be definitely recognized as public service and remunerated as such," and so the two conferences were called.

The central thought of the first of the two conferences was summed up by Miss Margaret Woodrow Wilson in her statement that "not only should the school-houses be provided without charge as headquarters of citizenship organization, but the paid service of a clerk or secretary should also be furnished—just as this service is furnished for the meetings of aldermen, legislators and other subcommittees of the citizens."

The conclusion of the first conference was the drafting of a bill embodying the idea that the school principal should be paid for service as community clerk or secretary, and recommending that this first draft be further considered by the conference which was to meet on July 2 and 3.

The second conference opened in the assembly chamber of the state capitol on July 2. At this session was read a message from President Wilson in which he expressed his "sincere and growing interest in the program and method" of social center development. The main address at this opening session was given by United States Commissioner of

Education Claxton who strongly endorsed the proposal of the conference that the work of community organization should be officially recognized as public service. Commissioner Claxton also endorsed the proposition that when the school-house is used as a polling center the school principal, or some other responsible appointee of the school board, should be made the supervisor or chief clerk of elections.

At the evening session, on July 2, the chief paper was that of Frank P. Walsh, Chairman of the United States commission on industrial relations. At this meeting, C. C. Kelso, of Los Angeles, secretary of the Los Angeles civic league, presented an excellent statement of the experiences in Los Angeles and throughout California, which has led the people there to the recognition of doing what this conference proposed.

President C. E. Patzer, of the Wisconsin state teachers' association, gave an excellent presentation of the importance of definite arrangement for social center development from the point of view of school men and women. Mrs. M. L. Purvin, chairman of the civic committee of the Illinois federation of women's clubs, gave an account of social center development in Chicago and throughout Illinois; and Hosea E. Rood, patriotic instructor of the Grand army of the republic, made a plea for the definite placing of responsibility for community organization for patriotic celebrations in the hands of the school principal as a part of their civic secretarial function.

At this meeting there was a thorough consideration of the bill which, as a result of the work of Superintendent Mary Bradford, of Kenosha, and a diligent committee co-operating, had finally been drawn. This bill was recommended for consideration by the next Wisconsin legislature and the legislatures of the other states in which provision has already been made for the use of school buildings, but in which no provision is made for the remuneration of the civic secretary.

The bill as finally agreed upon reads as follows:

SECTION 1. It shall be the further duty of the school board of any school district, wherein the citizens are organized as and for the purposes described in this section, to furnish for all meetings of such organization secretarial service by a person to be known as civic secretary of the district. The school principal or other suitable person shall be employed by the school board for such purposes.

The person employed by the board as civic secretary, in addition to acting as secretary at all meetings of the citizens' organization, shall organize, publish and announce such program for each meeting of the citizens' organization, as the organization may direct, shall communicate with and invite or notify such speakers as the citizens' organization may wish to hear, and shall carry on such correspondence as may be necessary to secure from the university extension division or other source of information, suggestive material upon such public questions, as the citizens' organization may desire to consider.

The civic secretary of each district shall be compensated for his serv-

ices as such secretary at the rate of not less than two dollars for each meeting of the citizens' organization, such compensation to be in full for services at and incidental to each such meeting. One-half of such compensation shall be paid by the school board in the same manner and at the same time as the teachers' salaries within the particular district are paid. The remaining one-half of such compensation shall be paid by the state. Application therefor shall be made by the board of education to the state superintendent and shall set forth in detail the number and dates of meetings served by the civic secretary and the number in attendance, the names of the principal speakers and the topic at each meeting. Such application shall be accompanied by a sworn statement by the civic secretary setting forth the number and character of meetings served by him and for which he claims compensation under this section. Upon receipt of such application the state superintendent, unless he shall disapprove the application, shall certify to the secretary of state the amount due to such civic secretary, whereupon the secretary of state shall draw his warrant upon the state treasurer in favor of such secretary for the amount so certified.

The conference closed with a morning round table session at which the chief speaker was Superintendent J. H. Mills, of Ogden, Utah. He gave an account of the situation which had led up to the survey and made the statement that the Ogden plan of unifying the school and municipal administration is likely to be carried out in that city.

Edward J. Ward was the secretary and animating spirit of the conference.

This official conference on civic secretaryship was the occasion for an unofficial editorial conference on the *Social Center Magazine* at which nearly all of the editorial staff were present.

CITIZEN CO-OPERATION IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF HEALTH AND CHARITIES

TO SERVE a public eager to help them succeed has been the good fortune of few public officials in Philadelphia. Here, as elsewhere, men inaugurated into office with apparent good will on every side, have found, as time passed, that permanent public interest in their administration confined itself to purely partisan criticism. Discriminating judgment on the part of citizens and non-partisan help and co-operation, before 1908, were all but unknown. At that time, a group of public-spirited men organized the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research. This new agency was to attack problems of the municipality from the point of view of an alert citizen, desirous of efficient government and willing to do his share of the thinking and working necessary to bring it about.

On a guaranteed budget of $30,000 per year and with a group of trained investigators and accountants it set to work. What such co-operation

has meant in one field of municipal endeavor can best be judged by the following extract from a letter from Dr. Joseph S. Neff. Upon his retirement in May, 1914, after a tenure of seven years in the office of director of public health and charities, Dr. Neff writes: "I desire . . . to express my personal appreciation to your bureau for the very valuable services which you have rendered in increasing the efficiency of the department. Since the organization of your bureau, I believe our efficiency has been increased many times, much of which was due to your work; and, therefore, one of my last official acts is to acknowledge service rendered."

Important as are the results here attributed to this new type of co-operation, Dr. Neff's letter is equally significant for the light it throws on the changed attitude of the public official. Hitherto, distrustful of political enemies, and possibly conscious of administrative shortcomings which he was powerless to correct, the office-holder resented and, so far as he was able, thwarted any attempt on the part of the citizenship to find out what was going on "inside." Even yet, employees who have been long in the service instinctively suppress the most innocuous information and conscientiously believe it to be a duty to enhance the mysterious atmosphere supposed to be necessary in the operation of a public office. That active outside co-operation of a type which presupposes searching investigation should be invited and appreciated is quite as indicative of a new order as that it should be available. It is not a matter of accident, however, that at last the public and the official have "gotten together." The rapid evolution of the idea of government as an agency for actively and positively promoting public welfare has fairly forced this situation upon public and official alike. It is eminently to Dr. Neff's credit to have been the first official in Philadelphia to see the logic of events and to act accordingly.

That it was the new demands upon government and in this particular case the public health branch of the service that created this new relationship, finds proof in a recital of the ways in which this co-operation has been effective.

When Dr. Neff came into office, the methods employed in the medical inspection of school children made it practically impossible for him or for the public to know what results were being accomplished by this new undertaking. Physical defects found were reported and registered; but physical defects corrected were not matters of current record and report. At an expenditure of about $2,000 the bureau of municipal research formulated a report on the subject which put at Dr. Neff's disposal the results of several months of study of the problems involved. The standardization of methods which has followed this stimulus has brought most gratifying results. Philadelphia now knows that 45 per cent of the reported defects are corrected within the school year. Striving for the

ultimate goal of 100 per cent correction of remedial defects, she is now able to measure her advance year by year.

To bring before the general public the significance of milk as a factor in public health, the bureau of health, in 1910 and 1911 carried on a vigorous publicity campaign. Following a suggestion made in a bureau of municipal research survey of the division of milk inspection, the then mayor, John E. Reyburn, in October, 1910, created a milk commission. He chose a group of experts financially disinterested in the milk trade and capable of making a scientific study of the whole question. By the following Feburary, the milk commission had finished its report. The findings set forth therein still stand as an authoritative statement of the whole problem in its local aspects and the constructive suggestions advanced still form the most complete program that has been attempted for Philadelphia.

The milk show in May, 1911, was the means adopted to popularize the findings of the milk commission. Held in a large room on downtown Chestnut street and equipped with exhibits which would require a volume to describe, the show told its story during the eight days it was open to over a hundred thousand Philadelphians. Taking advantage of the national meetings of the American association of medical milk commissions and the Certified milk producers association sitting in Philadelphia at that time, the promoters of the show were able to secure many of the delegates as lecturers on the daily programs. Besides the bureau of municipal research and the veterinary department of the University of Pennsylvania, dozens of other civic and philanthropic agencies lent their aid. Stimulated by this activity the newspapers devoted first page columns to descriptions of the show and discussions of the new ideas it brought forward. In every way the undertaking set a new standard for ventures of its kind in Philadelphia.

The ultimate success of this publicity campaign will, of course, be measured by the improvement of the milk supply of the city. In so far as governmental supervision is necessary to secure this improved product, but a half measure of success has been attained. Empowered by an act of assembly of 1909 the board of health has promulgated a code of rules designed to prevent the sale of adulterated, dirty, or contaminated milk; but the division of milk inspection, hampered by an inadequate budget, can, at the utmost enforce the law only within the city. It is impossible now to inspect systematically the outside farms and dairies from which a large part of the city's supply is derived. When, however, public opinion, steadily growing more insistent, forces an appropriation for this purpose, the health administrators will find an unusually well developed program awaiting them. And for this preparedness they may thank Dr. Neff's ability to enlist and use citizen co-operation.

One of the greatest advances in efficient management made during

Dr. Neff's administration has resulted from the standardization of specifications for the purchase of food supplies for the bureau of charities. For years the food conditions had been almost intolerable at Blockley, the popular name for Philadelphia's unique institution, where within a walled area of a few acres are housed 5,000 sick, paupers and insane. Supplies had been bought under specifications so loose that responsible firms had long since ceased to compete. Unscrupulous tradesmen, putting in relatively low bids had secured contracts and delivered the poorest grade of goods. Rejections were difficult, if not impossible. As a result, inferior meats, storage eggs unfit for use, rancid butter, low grade milk and adulterated products of all kinds were unloaded upon the city. Working with the department of supplies and the bureau of charities, the bureau of municipal research drew up a schedule of standard specifications for most of the food supplies purchased. The results following the installation of this schedule have more than realized expectations. Under an aggressive administration of the department of supplies and the bureau of charities a better class of bidders have been attracted and much better goods are now purchased at a very slight increase in price. Rejections are so easy and so sure that attempts to evade specifications have almost been abandoned. Who can estimate the value of proper nourishment as a part of the treatment of a group of people whose incapacity is so often the result of poor nutrition?

In common with the rest of the municipal and county departments, public health and charities were suffering from the lack of a modern accounting system when Dr. Neff assumed the duties of office. Beginning with a haphazard budget that made no distinction even between current expenses and capital outlay, and employing antiquated methods throughout, the whole system failed completely as a means either for ascertaining unit costs or for controlling the finances of the department. In the general re-organization of the municipal accounting system which has been going on for the last three years, no bureau has accomplished more than charities. Through the combined efforts of the accountants in the department and those of the bureau of municipal research the financial records are now kept in such a way as to bring currently to the attention of the administrators the facts necessary for intelligent understanding of the situation. To-day it is possible to make valid comparisons between per capita costs in the Philadelphia institutions with those of similar institutions elsewhere. Dr. Neff could have left no more useful tool in the hands of his successor than such an accounting system.

In a rapidly expanding department, there is always a tendency to add a new division for each added function regardless of its relation to functions already being performed. This growth often results in a straggling ununified organization. This has been very well illustrated in the Philadelphia bureau of health. Execution of the housing laws,

for example, was vested in three divisions—tenement house inspection, house drainage inspection and nuisance inspection. Laws on the inspection of meat and cattle were enforced by one division, those on milk by another. The disadvantages of such a form of organization are at once apparent. Responsibility is divided, efforts are duplicated, inefficiency results. In order to bring unity and centralization, the departmental organization was studied by the bureau of municipal research. It demonstrated, by means of graphic charts, the illogical sub-division, then existing, and the consolidation necessary for building up a more compact and effective organization. All the changes made by Dr. Neff within the last two years have been in harmony with these suggestions.

Although the above sketch by no means exhausts the list of studies made by the new citizen agency for Dr. Neff's department, it serves to show the range of activities and the nature of this new co-operation of official and citizen. For those of us who believe in the efficiency movement in government Dr. Neff's administration is a most encouraging sign of the ushering in of the new regime. When public officials welcome aid and suggestions and citizens respond to a call so unemotional and disinterested, a real and effective democracy no longer seems a dream.

NEVA R. DEARDORFF, PH.D[1].

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN CITY GOVERNMENTS AND UNIVERSITIES[2]

IF THERE is to be proper co-operation between universities and city governments it must be assumed that there is good will on both sides and that the city government wishes to have university co-operation.

Already there has been much done by many universities the country over through scientific investigation of various types made by professors directly for the city government. Civil engineers, architects, bacteriologists, statisticians and others have often worked for city governments to the decided advantage of the city. It is desirable, however, that this co-operation be extended much further.

At the suggestion of the mayor and of the city chamberlain of New York, New York University is now making an inventory of the scientific equipment, both physical and personal, of the city. The purpose is to see whether there may not be worked out some better scientific organization of the city's forces so as to secure some improvement in the service with a reduction of cost. It is hoped that a report will be made in time to be of service to the budget committee.

[1] Chief of division of vital statistics, Bureau of Health, Philadelphia.

[2] The substance of Prof. Jenks' remarks at the recent conference in New York on the universities and training for public service.—EDITOR.

Beyond, however, the work that may be done by professors and experts, it has been suggested that there may also be helpful co-operation on the part of advanced students. Beyond any question graduate students who are fitting themselves for positions in public administrative work would be greatly benefited if, in addition to their lectures and reading, they could have some actual practice in administration. They would often be glad to secure this practice, either at no expense to the city, or for the payment of merely a minimum living salary while they are getting their training. If two students were to work together in this way, dividing the time between them, they could arrange to take the work of one position in the city government, each receiving half-pay for his half-time work. If the positions thus filled were those that would give the students an insight into the principles of government and give them the opportunity for constructive work, it would be of great importance to them. Moreover, the city would doubtless be able to secure in this way a higher grade of work—properly supervised also by the university professor—than they would get from the ordinary employee. It is hoped that some plan like this can be worked out.

Again, in every important city where a civil service commission has the supervision of appointments and promotions, there should be an opportunity for co-operation. In New York many thousands of men each year are promoted from lower to higher positions after passing examinations. The preparation for these examinations is ordinarily a mere cram on the part of the canditates. It would be much better if classes could be held for such men on topics immediately connected with their work, but so taught as to give them a better insight into the principles of government and a broader view of the whole field than they get now. Such classes might well be provided for by universities.

My suggestions would be that as regards classes held for the benefit of city employees, the city itself furnish the room and permit the classes to be held in city time,—say one hour or two hours a week, during a considerable part of the year. The added efficiency of the employees and the certainity of securing a better grade of work would justify this giving of time and rent by the city. The men themselves would profit enough by it, so that they could well afford to pay a reasonable fee for the teacher, properly equipped. The teachers selected by the university should be men entirely competent to handle that work,—in many cases they would have to be members of the faculty. No student should be allowed to practise on the city employees for his own training.

Aside from the city government proper, universities might well co-operate with the citizens in improving conditions. At Government house of New York University, for example, graduate students have organized clubs of young men, frequently voters, sometimes young men who will obtain the vote in two or three years, and in those clubs have taught the

principles of city administration from as practical a viewpoint as possible. Not only are city institutions visited by these clubs under the leadership of the university men, but young citizens are encouraged to take an active part in their own civic problems. The keeping of the streets clean, the proper inspection of tenement houses, the sanitary care of the markets, even the oversight of dance houses, and similar lines of activity can well be taken up by these clubs very effectively. The leadership of the clubs trains the graduate student as no class-room work alone could do. Wherever a university is preparing men for positions such as secretaries of commercial clubs, or secretaries of social centers,—or for that matter, for any kind of public service,—the combination of a careful study of the principles with this practical work is of great importance. Wherever it has been tried, under careful supervision with the idea of scientific thoroughness underlying, it seems to have been successful.

In connection with such clubs there has been established at Government house also a municipal information bureau for the use of any citizens who care to get information regarding the city government or their own civic problems. Such work might readily be extended to clubs in churches, in settlements and other places where people are working for the public welfare.

In these ways, and doubtless various others that could be suggested, co-operation between universities and the city government would redound to the benefit of both.[3]

Jeremiah W. Jenks.[4]

[3] See National Municipal Review, vol. iii, p. 68.

[4] Of the New York University.

NOTES AND EVENTS

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I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

CHARTER REVISIONS

Commission Government Efficiency.—The federal bureau of the census, in a quiet way, has given commission government a decided impetus by its publication of statistics of cities having a population of over 30,000. A press bulletin released on June 12 recites the fact that out of the 195 cities in the United States falling within this class, 69 have adopted the commission form of government. Convincing evidence of the efficiency of the new system is seen in the statement of per capita operating expenses in the cities where it is in operation, as compared with those which still have the "mayor-and-council" form. The average per capita operating expense for the entire 195 cities is $17.34 per annum. Only five cities under the commission plan, to wit: Sacramento, San Diego, Pasadena, Denver and Atlantic City exceed this average. In the case of Denver the comparatively high operating charge is offset by an exceedingly low per capita debt, which is only $3.82.

In the matter of per capita debt, only seven of the 69 cities exceeded the average. A large part of the indebtedness in the cost of many of the cities was doubtless incurred many years ago, so that these figures are of considerably less importance as an index to efficiency than those for the per capita operating expenses.

This report was prepared under the supervision of Le Grand Powers, chief statistician for finance and municipal statistics.

The Commission Plan and the Commission-Manager Plan of Municipal Government is the title of an important pamphlet issued by the National Municipal League. This, in substance, is the two reports of the committee on the commission form of government, the first presented at the Richmond meeting in November, 1911, and the second at the Toronto meeting in 1913. These have been previously, but separately, published in the Review.

The earlier report lays the heaviest emphasis upon the popular control features of the commission plan, and discusses the unification of powers, the non-partisan ballot, the short ballot, the abolition of ward lines and the applicability of the commission plan to large cities.

The second places the chief emphasis on the administrative features of simplified government and points out that the city manager plan follows the older type of commission government in providing a simplified and effective method of popular control, but that it goes further on the administrative side in providing for the unification of responsibility and lays the basis for expert management.

The pamphlet contains the minority report of Dr. Ernest S. Bradford and a discussion of the report by William Dudley Foulke. Both of these men are favorable to the more advanced plan but favor going slow.

The League proposes to distribute this pamphlet in quantities at cost and has set the price at $15.00 per thousand. It comprises twenty-four 6″ x 9″ pages.

Ohio Activity.—*Cleveland*, on August 12, voted on two amendments to her new home rule charter. One of these, the so-called "labor" amendment, designed to exempt laborers from the operation of the civil service law, was passed by a vote of 17,413 to 16,648. The second, which would have abolished the preferential system of voting and reestablished the old party election system was defeated. *The Plain Dealer* in commenting on the result says:

> The non-partisan nomination and election of officials, with the preferential form of ballot, has been preserved. The only change in the charter as a result of Tuesday's vote is the removal of common labor from the provisions of civil service.
>
> Though one amendment was carried and one lost, friends of the charter may well consider that victory belongs to them; for the real menace lay in the proposal which the voters rejected. It would have been a thoroughly backward step regretted by every friend of modern efficient municipal government, had the nomination and election machinery been put back to a strictly partisan basis. In comparison, the amendment adopted had small significance.

The *Toledo* charter commission finished its labors on August 13, bringing forth a charter, the central feature of which is the federal plan of government. The mayor is given power to appoint the directors of the six principal departments including the solicitor and the auditor, a director of finance. A final effort to make these officers elective was defeated. The mayor's salary is fixed at a minimum of $6,000 and that of the several councilmen at a minimum of $600 and a maximum of $1,000.

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City Manager Progress.—*Sandusky, Ohio*, is the latest city to provide for the commission-manager form. The new home rule charter which was adopted on July 28 by a vote of 1,396 to 1,289 follows, in the main, the Dayton and Springfield models. Its election sections are unusual, if not unique, in that no provision is made for primaries, or the modern substitute, preferential voting. All candidates are nominated by petition and a plurality vote is sufficient to determine choice. Credit for the passage of the instrument is given the Socialists whose support, though numerically not great, was sufficient to turn an apparent defeat into a victory. Had the charter provided for a non-partisan ballot and required majority vote to elect, it is probable that their opposition to a change in system would have had to be reckoned with.

In *Akron*, where a new charter was defeated last year, the city manager system is said to meet with the support of the chamber of commerce.

The plan is under serious contemplation in several *California* cities. In Berkeley, for instance, a committee of the City club is working on charter amendments to put the idea into effect. The Tax association of Alameda county is drafting a county charter, in which provision will be made for a county manager, and the same organization, at the request of numerous improvement clubs, is undertaking the amendment of the Oakland city charter along the same lines.

The plan under contemplation in Bakersfield calls for a small council which will exercise all the powers of the city through a manager of their own selection.

Olean, N. Y. On June 30 the new charter was rejected by a vote of 1,312 to 1,059. This result was apparently due not so much to opposition to the charter itself, but rather to personal and factional issues which were injected into the campaign.

Dunkirk, Cohoes, Lockport and Mount Vernon are the cities in New York state in which the greatest interest has been taken in city managers. More or less active movements are under way in each of these places for the adoption of Plan "C" under the optional city government law, passed by the last legislature.

The proposed charter of *Jackson, Mich.*, which will be voted on at the general election in November, calls for a small commission and a city manager.

Brief Mention. Among the cities in which charter revision is now (August 19) in progress, are Bay City, Mich., Ashtabula, O.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Macon, Ga. Florence, Ala., will vote on a new charter at a special election early in September. Mayor Marshall of St. Joseph, Mo., has

recommended to the council's legislative committee that it draft an entirely new city charter. Among the cities which have recently rejected the commission plan are Chillicothe, Mo. (on July 24, 457 to 350) and Hagerstown, Md. (June 22, 1203 to 1031).[1]

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Dayton's Manager Reports.—The first report of the city manager of Dayton to the commission of that city, relating to new activities, and covering the half year from January 1 to June 30, is out. It details 100 items in which the administration of the city's affairs have been "jacked up," money saved and larger and better service rendered.

Among the things which have been accomplished in this short period are the completion of plans for the elimination of railroad crossing; reduction of the current deficit of $125,000; securing of plans for a garbage disposal plant; the more prompt payment of contractors for public works; the building of the Valley street bridge for $12,000 less than appropriation; the development of more efficient methods of cleaning down-town streets; reduced coal consumption in the water supply department; cutting the infant death-rate for June, 1914, to one-half the rate for the same month in the three years previous; the building of a storm sewer for less than two-thirds the appropriation therefor and the discounting of all bills in the purchasing division at two per cent. Other items are equally interesting and significant. They are conclusive evidence that under the new charter of Dayton "a man has come to court."

Doubtless any one or all of these achievements could have been accomplished under any form of government, but the fact is that they are not. Some cities have good administration in spots, and by accident. The worth of city managers will be determined by the degree in which they tone up the whole system. It is quite clear that the unification of the city under the city manager has vitalized the organization in a way that has never before been known in American cities. It is also apparent that the administrative organization is going out of its way to find opportunities to serve the city instead of waiting in dumb cattle fashion for necessities to compel it to act.

On the form of the report, also, someone is to be congratulated; it is one of the most easily comprehended and readable we have seen. It has been published by the Dayton bureau of municipal research in pamphlet form and is available, presumably, to all who are interested.

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Proportional Representation for their municipal elections has recently been restored by an act of the provincial council of the Transvaal to the cities of Johannesburg, Pretoria, and Roodeport-Maraisburg, which had had the system for a few years until deprived of it in 1912. Besides restoring the system to these cities that had it before, the act also extends it to all the municipalities of the province. The passage of such an act was not unexpected by those who understood the situation, for the reactionary act of 1912 was condemned generally throughout South Africa, as it obviously had no other object than to deprive the Labor party of its fair share of the seats in the councils of those cities.

The municipal representation bill, which would permit the municipalities of Great Britain to adopt proportional representation for the election of their councils, has been passed again by the house of lords. It was first passed by that body in 1908. A resolution in favor of the principle of the bill has been passed by the commons. Apparently, therefore, nothing stands in the way of its enactment but the pressure of other matters on the time of parliament.[2]

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The Merit System and the Higher Offices.—The classification by the New York City commission of the six secretaries to the Board of estimate and apportionment and the consequent attempt to

[1] Prepared by H. S. Gilbertson, executive secretary, Short Ballot Organization.

[2] From C. G. Hoag.

apply civil procedure to higher positions in the municipal service received the hearty approval of the New York civil service reform association. In a formal declaration it wished "to record its belief that few commissions have given such careful consideration to the merits and demerits of a proposed change in the classification as has your commission in this particular case." As stated publicly by the association, when it urged the commission to refuse to exempt these positions, "civil service reformers in New York City look to the present civil service commission as a commission that is to mark a real advance in civil service administration, to develop newer and better examining methods, and to press on the merit system to the highest point, provided positions which determine policies of the administration are not encroached upon. The Civil service reform association officially hopes that the Mitchel commission will not lose this opportunity to demonstrate that it can pick out the best men for these secretaryships and thereby aid in the efficiency of the Mitchel administration. The action taken would seem to be the first step in meeting the opportunity which these examinations present."

The New York municipal civil service commission worked out plans for the examination of a director of public health publicity in connection with the department of health, the first non-assembled test attempted by the New York commission. It also drafted an advertisement for the secretary to the market committee of the Board of estimate and apportionment, throwing open this examination to women as well as men. In fact, it will be the policy of the commission to open positions to women wherever possible.

Another event of significance was the change of the rules providing that hereafter a first grade clerk is eligible for promotion after one year in the service and a second grade clerk after two years. The shortening of the period of eligibility for promotion will encourage able and ambitious clerks to remain in the service and as the raw material for employes in the higher positions is drafted from these grades such a rule ought to have a good effect upon the whole clerical service.

The most far-reaching movement in the civil service of New York City is the attempt to standardize duties and to classify positions based upon a description of the duties. The municipal commission is co-operating in this direction with the bureau of standards that a sounder classification of the duties will be established. This tendency is general throughout the country and if it results in a sound efficiency record system, it will greatly aid the proper enforcement of the civil service laws and lead to a sound system of promotion.

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National Assembly of Civil Service Commissions.—The responsiveness of the merit system to the increasing demands for efficiency in administration was the keynote of the annual meeting in Pueblo in June. Beginning with competitive scholastic examinations for the appointment of clerks the system has been extended until it has been made applicable for testing fitness for highly technical and administrative positions other than those of elective officers, heads of departments and the principal assistants of the executive.

In addition to their functions as examining bodies some of the commissions are now charged with making efficiency studies, simplifying the organization of the executive service, discovering needless duplications of work, effecting economies and promoting the effectiveness of the public work. Dr. Henry Moskowitz, chairman of the New York commission, voiced the feeling of the delegates in declaring "we must employ the civil service law as an aggressive instrument of efficiency in government."

The meeting was chiefly devoted to the consideration of a model civil service law, reported by a committee which had had its preparation in hand during the year previous and to which it was recommitted. In its report the committee defined the scope of the work of a civil service commission as extending not only to the appointment of fit men after a thorough

and impartial test of merit, but that it is important that in their subsequent daily work the same standard of merit should be maintained so that the public may derive the benefit of the merit system. The committee added:

"Where public employes deteriorate through their own fault, they should be removed. If they deteriorate because of the conditions of employment which make good work impossible or unnecessarily difficult, these conditions should be corrected. The prompt and certain removal of incompetent employes, the correction of defective organization and defective conditions of employment, the training of employes, the task of getting competent men into the public service and of keeping them there, the correlation of their pay with the results achieved, the preparation of the budget in its employment, as distinguished from its financial features, and the maintenance of standards of efficiency, are all employment problems which do not change with changing administrations and which require constant expert treatment."

In its resolutions the Assembly urged closer co-operation among the various states and municipal commissions looking to the improvement of the quality, character and utility of examinations, reduction of costs, and particularly a closer co-operation among the commissions of the same state, believing that, wherever it is possible and practicable, efficiency bureaus and civil service commissions should be consolidated.

II. FUNCTIONS

Houston's Plan of Tax Exemption.—The following questionnaire was sent to twenty-five representative business men of Houston by students of the University of Texas:

I. Is the Houston plan of exemption a just one?

II. Has it reduced the amount of taxes you pay?

III. Has it worked to the advantage of any special class of property owners?

IV. Has it worked to the disadvantage of any class of property owners?

V. Has the plan been well received by the property owners?

VI. Has it tended to increase building in Houston?

VII. Has it increased or decreased the value of land?

VIII. Has it increased or decreased land speculation?

IX. Has it increased or decreased the number of land sales?

X. Is it likely that the plan will be continued in use?

XI. What do you think of the plan as a whole as a result of its operation in Houston?

Few were returned answered. Among those who answered were two doctors, four capitalists, two real estate agents, and two business men with large property holdings in Houston.

The so-called Houston plan of exemption is clearly contrary to the constitution of Texas, but as yet it has never been so declared by any court. Land in Houston is assessed at its fair value as ascertained by the Somers system, while buildings and any other inprovements are assessed at twenty-five per cent of their present value. Household furniture and effects are exempted.

Judging by the answered questionnaires it is the large property holders who oppose the plan and the small property holders who favor it.

The result of the questionnaire is as follows.

Question I. No. 8; yes, 2.

Question II. No, 10.

Question III. No, 4; yes, 6.

The ones who answer "yes," say that the plan favors those who own tall buildings.

Question IV. No, 3; yes, 7.

Question V. No, 4; yes, 2.

Question VI. No, 7; yes, 1.

Question VII. Decreased, 6; increased, 0.

Question VIII. Decreased, 4; increased, 0.

Question IX. Decreased, 4; increased, 0.

Question X. No, 7; yes, 2.

Question XI. Favored, 2; opposed, 8.

The objections to the plan seem to be its unjustness and artificiality. It stimulates building where there is no real demand for such. It is claimed that the plan taxes one kind of property and not another kind.[1]

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Municipal Utilities.—*Home Rule for Pennsylvania.* Very definite reaction is noticeable throughout all Pennsylvania to the recently enacted public service company law which overstepped the mark and deprived the cities of Pennsylvania of practically all effective powers over the utilities within their borders. Contracts between municipalities and utility corporations must be approved by the public service commission. This contract cannot be brought before the commission except by the public utility company itself before it has been duly signed by both parties. It has been stated that the reason this remarkable power was given to the utility corporation and denied to the municipality was that "the municipalities are able to take care of themselves." To enter upon any public ownership or operation of a municipal utility plant, or even to extend the territory of existing municipal plants, the cities must get the approval of the commission. These are but a few of the provisions of the law which are causing widespread dissatisfaction among city officials and urban residents.[2]

On July 17, 1914, a meeting of the municipalities of the state was held at Harrisburg and a permanent Municipal Home Rule League of Pennsylvania was organized with David L. Starr, of Bellevue, president, George F. P. Langfitt, of Bellevue, secretary, and R. A. Holmes, of Langford, treasurer. Resolutions were adopted which read as follows:

WHEREAS, We believe that it was the real intent of the legislature, and the understanding of the people of the state, that, in the enactment of the public service company law of 1913, the Public service corporations would be more rigidly controlled in the interest of the public welfare without depriving any municipality of the rights heretofore vested in it, and

WHEREAS, The legislature, by the enactment of said law, has greatly enlarged the power and privileges of, and more securely entrenched in an invulnerable and monopolistic position the public service companies of Pennsylvania, and in a corresponding degree deprived the municipalities, and the people at large, of their inherent and constitutional and contractual rights and power of self-government or home rule, the effect of which has been and will be, judging from the interpretation of said act by the courts and the public service commission, the destruction of competition, thereby increasing the cost of commodities to the people and incidentally the cost of living, and

WHEREAS, Said law unjustly discriminates against all municipalities which had not, at the time of its passage, established their own municipal plants or works, by depriving them of the right to purchase, build or operate such works wherever the public service company for profit is doing business in any such municipality;

WHEREAS, The said law in many respects is diametrically opposed to a government of the people, for the people and by the people, and fundamentally wrong in principle,

Be it resolved, That we do hereby protest against said law in its present form, and all laws abridging the inherent rights of the people concerning self-government or home rule; and we call upon the electorate of the state, without regard to party affiliation, to use every honorable means to elect such candidates to public office as will favor such legislation by amendment of said act, or otherwise, to restore to the municipalities the rights and privileges vested in them prior to the enactment of the above mentioned public service company law, and the repeal of all other laws which tend to restrict the constitutional and inherent rights of a sovereign people, and that they will strive to have placed on the statute books of our state instead thereof such laws as are necessary to give to all counties, cities, boroughs, townships and districts the constitutional self-government, and

We favor open and free competition in the public utility field.

Holding Companies in Public Utilities. Under the guidance of William P. Bonbright, a brief was submitted to the Interstate commerce committee of the Senate in the matter of Senate Bill No. 4160 in behalf of public utility holding companies. This brief laid down many arguments, some of which were sound and many fallacious, as to the advantages of holding companies. One of the most significant statements was as to the magnitude of the

[1] From C. J. Landram, Houston, Texas.

[2] See Dr. Wilcox's review of *The Annals* under Book Reviews, *infra*. EDITOR.

interests involved and the large amount of capital invested in such companies. "The total capital employed," says the brief, "in electric, gas, street and interurban railway companies, commonly called public utility corporations, in this country today is estimated to exceed eight billion dollars. Of this capital nearly five and a half billion dollars are controlled by holding companies and their subsidiary companies. Of the approximately eighty-nine millions of people served by electric light and power and gas companies over sixty-two millions (approximately seventy per cent) are served by holding company systems.

"*Electric Light and Power.* The electric light and power companies represent approximately two billion dollars of capital of which approximately seventy-six per cent is controlled by the holding company form of organization. These utilities serve over fifty millions of people, approximately thirty-eight millions of which are served by holding companies. Of five hundred and seventy-seven cities of ten thousand or more population served, four hundred twenty-eight are served by holding company systems. Of the one hundred fourteen cities in the United States of a population in excess of fifty thousand, one hundred three are served by holding companies. Of the fifty-four cities in this country having in excess of one hundred thousand population, forty-nine are served by the holding company.

"*Gas.* Artificial gas companies represent a capital of approximately one and one-third billion dollars. Of that capital, approximately two-thirds is controlled by holding companies. The gas utilities of the country serve approximately thirty-eight and one-half million people. Of this number nearly twenty-five million are served by holding companies or their subsidiaries.

"*Street Railways.* Street and interurban railway companies represent a total capital of approximately five billion dollars. Of this sum it is estimated that not less than two-thirds is controlled by holding companies. In the twenty-eight cities having a population in excess of two hundred thousand, the mileage of track controlled by holding companies is in excess of sixty-one per cent. Here, again, it is of interest to note that only four of these cities have more than one principal operating company and only two of these cities have companies that are really independently and separately owned."

Cleveland's new municipal lighting plant is now ready for operation, Cleveland is to be the center of an experiment of selling electricity at a three cents maximum rate with adequate returns to the city for its investment at that. Nor is Cleveland's proposal limited to the selling of electric current at three cents to the individual householder. Sweeping reductions will be made from this rate to the larger consumers, so that manufacturers and others who wish very large quantities of current for motor service can buy it as low as 1 cent per kw. hr.

Charles Whiting Baker, editor of the *Engineering News*, in a recent editorial, points out the various cost factors in generating and distributing electricity for Cleveland's plant, and verifies the contentions long made by Frederick W. Ballard, the city's lighting commissioner, that the city can operate its plant and distribute electricity at the rates mentioned above. Certain excerpts from this editorial will give Mr. Baker's basic argument as to the practicability of the three cent rates.

Cleveland fell heir to a complete municipal electric-lighting plant when it absorbed two smaller municipalities a few years ago, two outlying suburbs known as Brooklyn and Collinwood. The Collinwood plant may be dismissed without further mention, as it is of very small size, so small that its operating cost per unit of power output is very high. The Brooklyn plant, however, has been in operation for a dozen years. "Begun in a modest way in 1902 from the proceeds of a bond issue of $30,000, it has been added to year by year until its book value at the present time, including, of course, both the station and the distribution system, is $435,000 in round figures."

Mr. Baker then shows that this book

value is justified both on a basis of reproduction costs and a value due to its net earnings. He then points out that the Brooklyn plant in 1913 sold current of a total value of $185,698. Its total operating and maintenance expenses were $116,719, leaving net earnings of $68,979. It will be seen that these net earnings were equivalent to nearly 16 per cent upon the book value above quoted of $435,000.

"This Brooklyn plant, it should be especially noted, did this business and made this handsome profit at rates which, though not so low as those soon to be put in force by the new Cleveland plant, are phenomenally low compared with those usually charged by electric-light companies. The average rate for all current sold by the Brooklyn plant last year was only 328 cents."

Mr. Baker summarizes the several cost factors per kw. hr. of output as follows:

	cents
Operating cost of generating current at station	0.40
Interest and depreciation on station plant	0.16
Operating cost of distribution	0.50
Interest and depreciation on distribution system	0.51
	1.57

"This is the figure for current at the station. If we assume a 20 per cent loss in the distribution system, then the cost of current at the consumers' meter will be 1.96 cent."

Evidence from other sources clearly indicates that the base rate of 10 cents per kw. hr. charged by so many electric light stations is wholly unjustifiable and unreasonable. As Mr. Baker clearly points out, this means that the electric companies must make rates in the future, based on a replacement basis, and not on watered stock or even on investment values.

Public Electric Plants. A distinctive increase in the municipal ownership of electric plants from 1902 to 1912 is shown by the following figures appearing in Bulletin 124 of the Department of commerce, on "Central Electric Light and Power Stations and Street and Electric Railways 1912." The number of stations has increased from 815 in 1902 to 1,562 in 1912, an increase of 91.7 per cent. The total income for the year amounted in 1912 to $23,218,989 as compared with $6,965,105 in 1902, an increase of 233.4 per cent. The total expenses for 1912, including salaries and wages, amounted to $16,917,165 as compared with $5,245,987 in 1902, an increase of 222.5 per cent. The total number of persons employed was, in 1912, 7,940 as contrasted with 3,417 in 1902, an increase of 132.4 per cent. The output of stations, in kilowatt hours, was 537,526,730 in 1912 as compared with 195,904, 439 in 1902, an increase of 174.4 per cent. The number of new municipal stations established from 1907–12 was 307; the number of stations that changed from commercial to municipal, 106; the number that changed from municipal to commercial, 80, making an increase of 26 for municipal ownership. In the period from 1902–1912, while the total number of commercial and municipal central electric stations increased 0.9 per cent, the number of municipal stations increased 51.5 per cent, while the number of commerical stations actually decreased 7.7 per cent.

Electric Lighting. The third annual report of the Toronto electric commissioners gives some valuable data as to the costs of distributing electric current. The commissioners bought their current from a hydro-electric plant at Niagara Falls at a total cost, for the year ending December 31, 1913, of $255,986.26; the operating and distributing expenses totaled $425,230.78; the net earnings for the year were $478,122.70. The cost of current for 1913 was 22.08 per cent of the income as compared with 26.74 per cent of the income for 1912. The expenses of operation, maintenance and management were 36.68 per cent of the income for 1913 as compared with 42.14 per cent of the income for 1912. The income from commercial lighting increased during the year 35.53 per cent, while the income from power and from exhibition and sundry items increased 19.81 per cent and 3.71 per cent respectively. The total commercial income for

the year increased 59.05 per cent as compared with a total income from public lighting of 40.95 per cent. Thus, in spite of some grave mismanagement by the acting general manager during the first part of the year 1913, which led to his preemptory dismissal, the operation of Toronto's public distribution system has been most successful.

Municipal Railways. On May 23, a municipal street car line went into operation in Seattle. The line extends from the business part of the city to Ballard, a manufacturing district four miles north. Twenty-five tickets are sold for one dollar, the ordinary fare being five cents. The city is negotiating for the purchase of the Seattle, Renton and Southern Railway which connects with the municipal railway.[1]

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Denver.—The most significant recent municipal developments have arisen out of the city's attempts to control the public service corporations. On February 20, 1914, Judge John H. Denison, in the district court, handed down an important decision affecting the Mountain states telephone & telegraph company, the local Bell telephone organization, which has a monopoly in the Denver region. The decision affected the Brown ordinance which was initiated and passed at the spring election of 1912. This ordinance reduced the telephone rates on an average of about thirty per cent. Judge Denison held that the rate reduction was illegal on the ground that the Brown ordinance was actually a franchise. In accordance with Denver's charter, the franchise can be granted at an election at which only tax payers participate. The entire electorate had voted on the Brown ordinance.

In his decision, however, Judge Denison arrived at a number of other conclusions. First, he held that the city's power to make rates is unquestioned. The telephone company had denied this, because it, alone, among the important public utilities, is not specifically mentioned in amendment twenty of the state constitution, which grants Denver control over the public utility corporations. He also held that the Mountain states telephone company is a tresspasser.

The company was granted a twenty year franchise in 1889. This franchise, which was never renewed, expired in 1909. In behalf of its right to occupy the streets without a franchise, the company cited a number of acts of the legislature through which it claimed a perpetual franchise. Judge Denison ordered the company to remove its poles and wires within ninety days. The case, however, was appealed to the state supreme court and if possible will be taken to the federal supreme court.

During April, the Denver Business men's association conducted negotiations with the telephone company, as a result of which a reduction of approximately twenty per cent on the average was made in the telephone rates. The city commissioners endorsed the efforts of the business men to obtain lower rates but did nothing to curtail the city's legal rights to regulate further the rates or to acquire and operate a municipal telephone plant.

Denver's historic water question again became troublesome on May 13, 1914, when Judge John A. Riner of Wyoming, acting for Judge R. E. Lewis in the federal district court, issued a temporary restraining order preventing the city from enforcing the ordinance passed by the city council in February, granting a reduction of twenty per cent in the rates charged by the Denver union water company. During the negotiations prior to the special election in February, at which an indefinite contract with the water company submitted by the Retail association was overwhelmingly repudiated, the water company had offered a ten per cent reduction in rates. Attorneys for the water company admitted the ordinance passed by the council in February was legal in form but they urged that the twenty per cent reduction was confiscatory. The water company has had no franchise since 1910. It, too, claimed a perpetual franchise but in May, 1914, the United States supreme court ruled adversely on this claim. Judge Riner ordered the

[1] From Dr. Clyde L. King, University of Pennsylvania.

company to put up a bond of $10,000 as a protection to the people. The twenty per cent in the rates is very much in excess of the amount of the bond. The decision of the federal district court was extremely unpopular in Denver. Public meetings were held at which a "strike" of water consumers was proposed. The situation has been complicated by the determination of the city to build a municipal water plant. Eight million dollars' worth of bonds have been voted for this purpose but these bonds have not yet been issued.[1]

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Public Safety Notes.—*Police Card Index System.* Being unable because of lack of funds to install a Bertillon system in his department, Police Chief Detzel of Erie, Pennsylvania, has devised a card index system by means of which he is endeavoring to keep track of the city's criminals. These cards give full particulars of each arrest together with the disposition of each case in court. In the case of each prison sentence the card will also give the date of the prisoner's release and this will serve as a reminder to the police that the criminal is again at large and requiring surveillance.

Inspection by Uniformed Firemen. Commissioner Adamson of the New York fire department has issued an order providing for the inspection of all buildings other than private residences by uniformed firemen assigned to this duty by company commanders from day to day, for the purpose of reducing fire hazards by the issuing of verbal orders to owners. This plan has proved to be very effective—many hazards have been discovered and promptly removed; the inspection service has been carried on without expense to the city and without detriment to the efficiency of the fire-fighting service and the outdoor inspection service has not been considered irksome by the firemen.[2]

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Houses of Ill-fame.—The abatement law of Iowa passed in 1911 has served as the model for similar legislation in many states. In California a new law makes it possible for any citizen to get out an injunction against any place used for immoral purposes, and if maintained the place is to be closed for one year. The owner may, by giving bond that the place will not be used for immoral purposes, secure a release from the closure.

Very similar provisions are found in laws of Minnesota[3] and South Dakota.[4]

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Public Dance Halls in cities of the first, second, and third classes are licensed and regulated under a recent Minnesota law. The law prohibits sale of intoxicating liquors in the hall or adjoining; indecent and immodest dances are prohibited; halls are to be fully lighted and minors under eighteen are excluded; licenses are to be granted by the governing body of the city.

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State Appointed Police Commissions.—An act has been passed by the legislature of New Hampshire unifying the laws relating to state appointed police commissions, which are still found in seven cities and one town. The law provides for a commission of three members each, not more than two from any one political party, the commissioners to be appointed by the governor and council for overlapping three-year terms and to be removable at any time by the appointing power. These commissions appoint police and superior officers, fix their salaries, adopt rules for the government of the police force, and remove any officer for just cause after hearing.[5]

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A Board of Public Morals was created in the department of public safety in cities of the second class (Pittsburgh and Scranton) in Pennsylvania by a 1913 act, for the purpose of investigating and acting upon all questions relating to the matter of vice control. The board consists of seven members, three of whom may be women, appointed by the mayor and

[1] From William L. Chenery.
[2] From Dr. Leonhard Felix Fuld.
[3] Chapter 562 Minn. L. 1913.
[4] Chapter 123 South Dakota L. 1913.
[5] From John A. Lapp.

approved by the council. The board elects a superintendent from their own number who is to give his entire time to the work of the board.[1]

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London School for Police Recruits.—Movements to raise the standards of police efficiency are gaining ground in all the important cities of Europe and America, and in many instances schools for formal instruction in police powers and duties have been established for the training of policemen and police recruits. The schools of London, Berlin and Paris are especially noteworthy. Dr. Leonhard Felix Fuld, of New York, has made a special study of these schools and finds the London school of police recruits of special interest to American officials in the selection of subjects and scope of instruction. This school provides an eight weeks' course of training in academic preparation, police duty, self defence, foot drill and gymnastics. The academic preparation provided by the London school includes reading, writing, spelling, grammar, composition, punctuation, filling in of forms, dictation, study of maps and plan drawing. The training in police powers and duties by means of lectures, investigations and reports, covers:

First, acts and legal provisions relating to police powers and duties, streets and highways, metropolitan streets, special and general limits, locomotives, tramways, motor cars and carriages, offenses against person and property, prevention of crime, vagrancy, children, licenses, explosives, guns and pistols, and crime in general;

Second, duties of police in respect to assaults and other offenses against the person, serious crimes, factories, meetings, strikes, riots, processions, street obstructions, carriage standings, cab fares, disputes and refusal to pay, open air preaching, street collections, advertisements, street messengers, shoeblacks, chimney sweepers, peddlers, hawkers, vagrants, destitute persons, suspicious persons costermongers, removal of furniture at unseasonal hours, irregularities of servants, betting in the streets, drovers of sheep and oxen, refreshment houses, public houses, licenses, clubs, fires, gas explosions, fusing of electric wires, collapse of buildings, collisions, runaway horses, accidents or illness in the streets, sudden death in the street, leakage from gas and water mains, broken telegraph and telephone wires, insecure cellar flaps and coal plates, dangerous structures, subsidence or upheaval in the highway, amusements or games in the streets, water trough and drinking fountains, infectious diseases, deaths, suicides, indecency, indecent prints and advertisements, exposures, prostitutes, brothels, public music and dancing, intoxication, ill or injured animals, cruelty to animals, aliens, royal personages, privileges of ambassadors, pass cards, naval and military deserters, soldiers and sailors in custody, illegal wearing of naval and military uniforms, attention to shops, establishments of jewellers, pawnbrokers, post offices and letter boxes, public libraries, assistance to shop and factory inspectors, assistance to bailiffs, assistance to military officers, treatment of persons ill or insensible, and sudden deaths in the street.

Third, the rules of evidence, charges, prisoners, prisoners' property, searching, finger prints, descriptions of persons wanted, dying declarations, cross examinations, apprehensions, mode and power in arrests, summonses, method of reporting offenders, system of compiling reports, value of original notes, use of telephone, fire alarm posts and fire extinguishers, beats, fixed points, and attention to premises for the prevention of crime.[2]

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Municipal Markets.—*Cleveland.* The municipal committee of the Cleveland chamber of commerce was requested to investigate and report on an ordinance introduced into the Cleveland city council proposing a municipal bond issue of $60,000, for the erection of market places. In their report, issued in April, the committee states the following:

[1] From John A. Lapp.

[2] From Professor Murray Gross.

"A new market, if constructed, should be a large but simple structure whose cost would permit low rentals from the dealers and hucksters who now congregate there. The land should be of size sufficient to maintain a curb market, so divided and protected that sellers and buyers can deal with some degree of comfort. It should be supplied with ample cold storage facilities, whose revenues would also reduce operating cost, enabling a reduction of stall rentals and consequently reduce prices to the public. The weekly inspection of weights and measures, sanitary supervision and police control would be more effective in a new building. No one can visit the market without feeling that municipal action at this point is needed and that the volume of business now done here is ample guarantee that bonds issued for this purpose would never burden the tax payers."

La Crosse, Wis. As a result of a conference between farmers and merchants in an effort to secure a closer relationship between city and country, La Crosse will establish a municipal market. The city will employ an expert buyer, and all the produce brought in by farmers will be sold at prices published in the daily papers on the previous day. An effort will be made to dispose of the produce to home merchants. The remaining produce will be shipped out of town.[1]

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Municipal Gas Plant Party to a Coke Monopoly. — Considerable acrimonious comment has been aroused in Berlin by the discovery that the municipal gas plant of that city has entered into an agreement with a monopoly which controls the sale of coke in the German metropolis. In defence of the administration of the gas works the usual arguments are brought forward, such as the difficulties and losses involved in small sales, the simplification of this side of their business and elimination of risk by joining the coke monopoly. On the other hand, the city authorities are sharply attacked for allowing all influence in determining the price of coke locally to pass out of their hands, thus delivering the consumer of coke to the mercy of the big dealers in this commodity. Since the establishment of the monopoly in 1912 coke prices have been advanced forty per cent by the monopoly. Retailers have not dared to go so far and have advanced their prices only 23 to 34 per cent. It is admitted that the coal used by the gas plant has advanced in cost during the last few years, but not to anything like the same degree as this increase in the price of coke.[2]

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Municipal Poultry Farm at Bielefeld.—Poultry farming does not suggest itself at once as a municipal trade. Bielefeld, however, has recently established such a farm on its sewage fields with the purpose of using the products in the form of eggs and meat in the municipal hospital. Discussing this novel enterprise, Dr. Gustav Hoffmann calls attention to the fact that already in a considerable number of cases German cities have entered upon the sale of meat, potatoes and milk. Eggs are of scarcely less importance as a fundamental food stuff. Next to England, Germany is the largest egg importing country in Europe. Transportation expenses and the manipulation of egg exchanges make prices artificially high. Since private enterprise seems incapable of meeting properly the demand for this important article of food, why should cities not establish poultry farms for the supply, not only of hospitals, but also of citizens generally? [3]

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Correction. Through the kindness of a Berlin reader of the REVIEW our attention has been called to an erroneous statement in the July number, concerning the waterworks of Charlottenburg. It was there stated that the waterworks of Charlottenburg are owned by a private corporation, but it appears that the city owns its own waterworks and that there is also a private company called "The Charlottenburg waterworks" which supplies the municipalities about Charlottenburg. The error was due to the misleading name of the private company.

[1] Clyde Lyndon King.

[2] From Dr. Robert C. Brooks, Swarthmore College.

[3] From Dr. Robert C. Brooks.

III. POLITICS

Affairs in Oakland, Cal.—Of course there is always an intimate connection between municipal, county and state affairs, in California, but that connection at the present time, as between the city of Oakland and the county of Alameda, is a serious entanglement in the way of progress, intensified by the bitter hostility on the part of most of the actual leaders in Oakland municipal affairs towards anything and everything that seems, by any possibility, to afford any conceivable opportunity for a Greater San Francisco that may reach into Alameda County.

Ever since the latter part of 1912, the tax association of Alameda county has been working hard at the root of the problem, a charter for the county of Alameda, and it looks now as if this, with the correlative city charter work, was almost ready for public display, and that it might be summed up somewhat as follows: A county charter with a comparatively large council, say about twenty-five, with a small executive committee, say about five, and a county manager to be appointed by such committee, together with a similar arrangement for the city, and suitable provisions interworking in the interest of simplicity and economy as between the city and county.

Without going into the merits of the many controversies involved, it is clear that there has been an accumulating dissatisfaction with the present administration of city affairs, as well as county affairs, and that will find some outlet as to city affairs at the next general municipal election, but it is hoped that such charter changes will precede such election and it is considered doubtful whether the county election in November of this year will much affect the present city situation.

The general control of public utilities has passed to the state, but not including, of course, municipal wharves and wharfage matters.

The long continued effort of the tax association to bring about an efficient city accounting system has not been successful. It is claimed that city purchases made of late in the open market show a great saving over the old contract system and that "it would be vastly to the city's interests financially if the charter might be amended so that the $500 limit of purchases in the open market would be raised to $1000, or even $2000." It is also claimed that there will soon be "approximately nine miles of shipping frontage that will be directly accessible to both deep water and railroad advantages."

On the sociological side, the efforts of the present health director of Oakland to transform "a hap-hazard health department of village type and to build it into a municipal department for a city of 200,000 population," are notable; also the determination of the women of Oakland to turn the city school buildings into social centers, which movement is backed (among others) by the superintendent of playgrounds, who has accomplished much in several directions and is now pressing for an adequate development of city bathing and swimming facilities in connection with a municipal water park.

Oakland has great reason to be proud of much that she has done, is doing and that she will unquestionably do in the very near future and before the rush of the 1915 visitation. Nevertheless there are sore spots in the body politic and while they should not be needlessly displayed, at such a time and place as this it would be an injustice to those who have struggled faithfully and are still striving to cure them, to ignore that phase of the status of municipal affairs. For example, the so-called newspaper graft may not be any more reprehensible in point of morals, taken by itself, than the nation-wide system of tax assessment returns for far less than the true values called for by law, yet the continuance of this particular evil in Oakland and Alameda county, in its connection with politics, demands plain speech and is a fair illustration of certain fundamental difficulties in getting out from under old political habits, especially where the aid of the

newspaper press can not be had but is, on the contrary, encountered by at least a conspiracy of silence. It is difficult to understand why as late as July 27, 1914, the city council awarded to a sole bidder the official advertising apparently on terms roughly speaking about twice the maximum permitted by the city charter. Laying aside what are probably mere flimsy technicalities, one may well assume that if the truth were freely given in explanation it would be that in both city and county affairs one or more newspapers are thus indirectly and in violation of law paid for other work than that covered by such contracts. It is quite possible that such late city contract is not void, nor even voidable, but, having read into it the limitations of the city charter as to the maximum amounts payable, it is only necessary that the bills be properly audited and only proper disbursements made up to, but not beyond the charter limits, to secure a belated justice that would cheer the hearts of the uncompromising foes of, not only graft, but of every form of playing fast and loose with the law under a still lingering phase of political license.

Now with special reference to Socialist participation in the municipal affairs of Oakland, I will say, without taking too much credit but cheerfully assuming all the responsibility for both views and expression thereof, that the situation can probably be fairly summed up about as follows:

The Socialist strength is small, but compact and sure. It is about 8,000. It is bent on principle and propaganda, rather than on any mere form of temporary political success. It is mostly manned by those who make no lasting sociological appeal, but who do often make a very effective temporary psychological one. That is, they can not draw and unite and hold enough elements to accomplish much with present methods and leadership. A leader, arriving through Eastern immigration or otherwise, a man of uniting and not dividing type, would, of course, greatly increase their practical strength.

The non-partisan ballot is condemned (at least as to the city and the county) by the Socialists, but it helps them more than anybody else, for it leaves them the only compact and solid group. In our case there has been a most pronounced "boss" control of political positions and apparently (through public advertising) of the press, and the best organized party of all is the machine. The non-partisan ballot which we now have in the county will tend to destroy this power, leaving the Socialists relatively stronger. Then when there is a contest, narrowed from many to two, in eliminating primaries, the Socialist force will go to the less conservative, the "anti" side, every time. At the election of the present mayor in Oakland, for instance, the Socialists lacked (speaking roundly) only a thousand votes to have changed the result, and if a man of a different calibre had been their candidate they might easily have had far more than that advantage.

Practically speaking, for the present at least, in Oakland, the Socialists are simply the rallying point, "the soul of the soldiery of dissent," a good whip, but not trusted to drive. It is contrary to human nature, to all the psychology of the handling of men, for any party to get or keep power to any extent which is to such a degree negative, decisive, and contemptuous of whole classes. A popular candidate must at least pretend to be of all and for all. If any are "beyond the pale," to him they must be a few marked individuals. He can not indict whole classes and expect sympathy and votes on a wide scale. That is a matter quite apart from the rationality or irrationality of the Socialist program. Men do feel, but it is a painfully slow process to bring them to the point of really thinking and standing by their own conclusions.

I append a clipping of August 10, of one of the San Francisco newspapers, of the official figures given out as final by the County Clerk of Alameda County as to the county registration in the Assembly Districts, completed August 9, 1914, and it will be seen that such total registration of socialists is only 5,400, and the comparative figures are significant yet must

not, of course, be too greatly relied upon as showing alignment in municipal affairs.

The following are the final figures on Alameda county registration, completed today by the County Clerk:

Assembly district.	Rep.	Prog.	Dem.	Soc.	Pro.	N.-P.	Total
34th..	5,897	2,621	1,558	354	65	307	10,802
35th..	8,119	4,406	1,368	833	97	429	15,252
36th..	6,955	6,905	1,788	994	199	669	17,510
37th..	7,112	6,800	1,639	443	123	477	16,594
38th..	4,065	6,429	912	562	52	309	12,329
39th..	4,624	6,063	883	604	61	333	12,568
29th..	4,624	6,063	883	604	61	333	12,568
40th..	4,304	5,393	1,316	1,084	150	562	12,809
41st..	5,475	6,674	2,152	526	155	623	15,605
	46,551	45,291	11,616	5,400	902	3,709	113,469[1]

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Tacoma.[2]—The political situation in this city resulting in the re-election of a recalled mayor continues to be most interesting. The following letter gives a sidelight of considerable value. It is from one who has been in close touch with events and knows whereof he speaks:

"A. B. Fawcett, who was recalled and again elected this spring, is, first and foremost, a man of considerable means, lives economically, has absolutely no hobby or apparent method of spending his money, outside of politics, in which pursuit he is willing to spend it freely. During his long political career he has naturally come to know a great many people, probably more than any man in the city. He is also clever in organizing, and has a very effective organization in every precinct. He is a very singular man; a man of great force and resourcefulness, inordinately vain, and has a passion for politics, and is vindictive to a degree. Educated by experience and hard knocks, he stands as about the only example in this community, who has built up "a following," and he has had for many years a strong following. While I regard him essentially dishonest in political affairs, I regard him as honest in money matters; yet through his forcefulness, through his vindictiveness in getting after his enemies and rewarding his friends, he necessarily would be a prominent figure in anything he would undertake.

"On the other hand, his chief opponent was a Lutheran minister, who, while an old resident, was not very widely known, and he endeavored to follow Mr. Fawcett's tactics in refusing to explain his policies, provided he was elected. That went all right with Mr. Fawcett, because people knew about what he was, but it was not the policy for a new and practically unknown candidate to follow. Moreover, there was another element which entered into it largely, and that was that Fawcett, in order to get the women's vote, inaugurated the "anti-treating" program, and thereby incurred the enmity of the saloons, with which class he had always theretofore been allied. A portion of his building is rented to a saloon, so that it is absolute "bunk" on his part, but of course it goes with a majority of the people. In order to catch this disgruntled element, Stoever thought he had to avoid standing in too closely with the ministerial alliance (and in that I think he was right), that is, he had to pose as a liberal man, rather than on his record as a preacher. But in a matter of so great delicacy, he went too far, and in the endeavor to show that he was not a stool pigeon for the ministerial alliance, he really insulted them, and disgusted a large church element.

"Another reason which contributed to Mr. Fawcett's election, was that people thought that the recall had taught him a lesson, a good deal on the principle that 'a child with burned fingers avoids the fire.' They thought if they elected him his naturally cantankerous disposition would be modified, and they felt disposed to give him another show. As a matter of fact, this has been true.

"Another cause which contributed to his election was that the council saw fit to raise the salaries of the firemen, linemen and some others, and incidentally this increased the tax levy one mill. As a matter of fact, the tax rate was *decreased*, but we desire to pay off a large debt and

[1] From R. S. Gray, Oakland, Cal., August 12, 1914.

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. III, page 608.

many of the people absolutely refused to see that there had been an actual reduction, and the extra increase was more than covered by retiring the debt and in cash receipts from the light department. But on the other hand, the increase in salaries was certainly deserved because we have the two platoon system, and the firemen were not getting enough. As a matter of fact, after we raised their salaries, they put up a referendum for a three platoon system (eight hours on and sixteen hours off) which failed to carry by a very small margin. I am satisfied that if we had not raised their salaries it would have carried. Moreover, some of the disgruntled ones tried to get up a referendum on the salary increase, and were not only unable to get the requisite number of signatures, but it met with no popular response whatever; so that upon the whole, it was entirely justified.

"However, all these things counted, and while there will always be more or less of a hubbub while Mr. Fawcett has any influence, on the whole I think that within his powers and limitations, he is trying to give Tacoma as good an administration as he knows how."

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Reading's Fire Department Referendum.—One of the early acts of the commission which, under the Clark law, took over the government of Reading, Pennsylvania, in January, 1914, was the passage of an ordinance creating a paid fire department in place of the voluntary system in vogue. The ordinance was enacted upon recommendation of experts who had been brought up from New York. A petition for a referendum of the ordinance was immediately filed and at the election held in June it was overwhelmingly defeated by a vote of 9,411 to 1,916.

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Measures against Social Democrats in German Cities.—The Bavarian government has incorporated into its new code for municipal officials a provision that social democrats shall be ineligible for such positions. Though this is considered an illegal restriction it is justified by the authorities on the ground that social democrats are not in a position to meet the requirements of the law that communal officials "must show themselves worthy of the esteem due their office, both in their official capacity and otherwise." Social democrats, it is claimed, cannot command that esteem.

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Municipal Social Politics in Breslau.—In 1915, Breslau will establish a new salary schedule for its municipal employes. Conditions were found to be so desperate among those of large families, however, that immediate action of some sort in this behalf was deemed necessary. A recent study of the wages of the employe of this city shows that a considerable percentage of them receive less than the recognized local wage for adult males of 84 cents a day. Household budgets kept by the wives of six hundred such employes established conclusively that a decent standard of living was impossible under the present wage scale. Acting upon these facts the magistrat has presented to the council an ordinance providing that municipal employes shall receive assistance in proportion to the size of their families. It is estimated that this ordinance will affect 1,142 employes with 4,450 children and involve the payment to them of $38,000.00 per year.[1]

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Intimidation in Prussian Municipal Elections.—In Prussian municipal elections ballots are not used. At the polls voters must announce the names of the candidates of their choice *mündlich und laut*. Naturally this furnishes every opportunity for the use of influence upon electors. Abuses of this sort seem to be especially common in the industrial sections of the country, such as the Ruhr district, for example. They are well illustrated by a petition addressed on April 4 of this year to the landtag by members of the municipal council of Freisenbruch. According to this docu-

[1] From Dr. Robert C. Brooks.

ment, pressure amounting to terrorism was employed in a recent city election. Mine operators seem to have been the worst offenders. One of these said in so many words to his employes: "I am authorized to inform you that you are to vote for Manager H———, and if you do not do so you will be discharged." Other operators confined themselves to the following somewhat less explicit threat:" If you do not vote for Manager H——— you will have to bear the consequences. Do not *forget*, however, that these may be serious."

As a result of abuses of this character, the councilmen of Freisenbruch ask the landtag to amend the municipal election law by introducing the secret ballot.[1]

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

The St. Louis Pageant.[2]—Without question the greatest civic spectacle the world has ever seen passed into history with the four performances of the Pageant and Masque of St. Louis, given at St. Louis, May 28 to June 1. Not only was the spectacle the greatest from the standpoint of size, but it was the most daring dramatic interpretation of the history and civilizing purpose of a great city ever presented. Its success was complete—far beyond the expectation of the community and even of its enthusiastic promoters. The five performances, in which 7,500 St. Louisans took part, were witnessed by between 450,000 and 500,000 people in the great natural amphitheatre on Art Hill in Forest park. The Saturday evening performance alone was witnessed by an audience of 125,000. The performances began each evening at 6.30 o'clock, and ran until 10.30, with a half hour intermission between the pageant and the masque. The pageant depicted the history of St. Louis from the days of the Indian mound-builders through the civil war. The masque vividly set forth the story of the struggle of civilization—the triumph of human over natural forces and of "love and imagination" over "gold." The story of St. Louis furnished the setting for the masque's symbolic drama.

But the underlying motive of the pageant and masque was not merely the production of a great, popular dramatic spectacle. From the beginning every effort was directed to arousing a new city unity out of the diversity of neighborhoods, races and interests of a great city of 750,000 people. How deeply that spirit has been aroused, the future of the city will show. But already the signs of a new determination were in evidence in the fight for the adoption of a new city charter on June 30. A permanent association for the promotion of civic drama has been already organized, and a movement launched to preserve as a national park the remarkable group of Indian mounds at Cahokia, opposite St. Louis, on the Illinois side of the Mississippi.

Practically every St. Louisan—man, woman and child—was reached by the appeal of the pageant—not only at the performances, but in the months of preparatory work, in the schools and churches, organizations, homes, in the factories and on the street—in the newspapers and in pageant literature.

The performance was the climax of a long process of knitting divergent groups of St. Louisans into bonds of unity.

The pageant and masque was great chiefly as a piece of democratic achievement. It was not handed down to the populace by the rich, or by business men. Its support, like its management, came essentially from the people as a whole.

The expense, $125,000, was met in part by popular subscription ($69,000) and in part by sale of seats, ($60,000) half of which were free at each performance and just as good as the other half not free.

A conference of the cities was held during pageant week, with representatives from all over the United States in attendance. The program dealt mainly with civic art and civic drama.

St. Louis has discovered a united city's power to do a big, idealistic piece of work.

[1] From Dr. Robert C. Brooks.

[2] National Municipal Review, Vol. III, p. 401.

She is setting out now to put a new ideal to work for the welfare of all her citizens.[1]

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Results of the Strike of Municipal Employes in Leeds, England.—On December 17, 1913, a long, stubborn, and widespread strike among municipal employes was instituted at Leeds. It involved 4,434 skilled and unskilled men. The chief demand was for an increase in wages. Following the November elections, the circumstances of every workman in the Council's employ had been carefully considered by the committees responsible, and, as a result of that consideration, increases amounting to over £6,500 had been recommended to the council and adopted by that body; but this did not satisfy the men, who refused to listen to any suggestion of compromise or arbitration. The strike lasted a month, when the bulk of the men were reinstated. The settlement was a compromise in which some of the claims of the men were allowed.

So serious were the questions involved that the council, after the settlement, selected a special committee to report on the whole matter and make such further recommendations as might seem to be demanded by the situation. This committee has completed its labors, which are embodied in a quarto pamphlet of 148 pages. In submitting its recommendations, the committee expressed the view that the strike had shown the necessity for improved methods of dealing with wages, conditions of work, and hours of labor of municipal workmen. To enable such matters to be dealt with properly, the fullest information as to comparable work in other towns must be systematically obtained, as well as the conditions obtaining with private employers in the city, and also with trades unions, where standard rates have been established. It declared that the formation of a "commercial department" for obtaining and collating such particulars to be an absolute necessity. A similar arrangement in other cities would lead to a constant interchange of information. A "General Purposes Committee," to be appointed as one of the standing committees of the council, with power to act in regard to all the foregoing matters, was also recommended, such committee to be intrusted with the general arrangements as to labor in all departments of the Corporation. To enable this to be carried into effect it is deemed necessary that a "commercial manager" be appointed to carry out the work indicated. One important result of such appointment it was believed would be to eliminate casual employment, and to render permanent as far as possible the positions of men who are efficient under the corporation.

The recommendations of the committee involve a complete change in the accepted forms of council work. They are, however, the logical and inevitable result of the development within the last fifteen or twenty years of so many trading departments employing a large number of workmen, and the necessity of such a change is the distinct and unavoidable lesson of the strike. In the words of the committee, "the corporation, as a large employer of labor, has made no advance during the last twenty years in its methods of considering demands for altered conditions, except by the formation of the consultation committee, whose decisions were not final. Such matters need to be dealt with uniformly and on business lines.

These sundry recommendations, made by the committee which had had charge of city affairs, were carefully considered by the council and were duly adopted and confirmed. It was further determined that a general purposes committee be appointed and that the council delegate to such committee full power to deal with all matters arising out of or in connection with: (a) The appointment, control and dismissal of all workmen; (b) wages, hours and conditions of labor of all workmen; (c) the distribution and supply of labor to the various departments; (d) the reorganization of the cleansing and highway departments, and that the committee report monthly to the council for confir-

[1] From Roger N. Baldwin, Secretary, St. Louis Civic League.

mation, and that only applicants who are found suitable shall be permanently engaged, and that, in all cases where in the opinion of the general purposes committee the occupation for which they are applicants is of a dangerous nature the committee may require the applicant to be medically examined.

Moreover, Mr. Hamilton, the successful manager of the tramways, was appointed executive officer, an act which was heralded in some American papers as the appointment of a "city manager for Leeds." In a measure they were justified in so declaring, for, as the *Manchester Guardian* said, the "real master" of the general purposes committee will be its executive officer, who is also the tramways manager of Leeds. "This is Americanization of our municipal institutions with a vengeance. From America comes the idea of the omnipotent mayor, and though in Leeds his powers are being put into commission, the distinction is not essential." Nevertheless the Leeds plan represents but the smallest part of what is known as the American commission system. In the words of the *Municipal Journal*, London, "one of the latest manifestations of the commission method is that embodied in the charter of Dayton, Ohio, which was approved last year. Power is vested in a non-partisan commission of five, elected at large, in place of the ward council. The city manager, chosen to serve at the pleasure of the commission, is the administrative head of the government, appoints and fixes the salaries of his immediate subordinates, including the principal departmental and sub-departmental heads and their deputies, and is personally responsible for the entire administration of the city. His duties comprehend the supervision of departmental administration, the execution of laws and ordinances, the recommendations of legislative measures, the appointment of officers and employes, subject to the provisions of the civil service conditions, the preparation of reports, and the preparation of the budget. Mr. Hamilton, of Leeds, is a busy and an able man, but even he, we imagine, would find it difficult to carry out such duties as these in addition to those connected with his tramways managership. His functions as defined by the Leeds committee will be strictly limited, and his acts will be subject to the approval of the city council, which will continue to be chosen upon the basis of popular election."[1]

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Public Health Notes.—*Health week in England* is a far different affair than our American clean-up weeks. It has been carried on for two years past by the Agenda club, but the 1914 health week, November 15 to 21, will be in charge of a large and representative committee, appointed by the Royal sanitary institute [E. White Wallis, secretary, 90 Buckingham Palace Road, London, S. W., England]. The committee has already distributed several attractive and telling circulars. In one of these it says: "A 'health week' has an important function to perform in addition to the steady continuous work throughout the year. Both are needed. There is at present no driving force behind this question of health. Any cause which depends for its vitality and force upon public opinion must have something definite on which that public opinion may crystallize, some opportunity for focusing attention and rekindling the enthusiasm of its adherents. The immediate purpose of health week is to make health during the week the chief topic of public concern."

The plan proposed is to have local committees formed all over the realm, made up of "representations of every public body and private society which is in any way concerned with health and of every agency which plays an important part in moulding public opinion." The week's program includes sermons in churches and lessons in Sunday schools; lessons and addresses in day schools, with essays by children; health talks at factories, clubs, mothers' meetings, etc., and lectures in town hall and municipal buildings; lantern lectures and moving pictures; general cleaning-up days; visits to municipal works; demonstrations by boy scouts,

[1] From Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

girls' brigades; etc., etc. Two score subjects for lectures on personal and public hygiene are named. In 1912 and 1913 health week was observed in seventy cities, towns and districts.

Pure Milk is making gains all over the country. Public health reports[1] for May 15, 1914, contains a tabulation of bacterial standards in about 150 cities of the United States, having an aggregate population of about 21,000,000. Only a few years ago cities having bacterial standards were few and far between. The Housewives' league of Providence, R. I.,[2] after a fifteen months' campaign which is said to have disclosed much dirty milk and some graft, and after being defeated in the city council, secured state legislation which transferred the control of the milk supply from a political milk inspector to the superintendent of health, St. Louis, Mo., through its municipal assembly, has adopted a new milk ordinance [*The Survey*, May 16, 1914] which places the granting and revocation of milk permits in the board of health and, besides other sanitary requirements, provides that after one year from date all milk sold in St. Louis must either be from cows [dairies?] which have been inspected and approved by the board of health or else must be pasteurized by the "holding method."—The supreme court of Illinois[3] has upheld a provision of a Chicago ordinance which requires milk to be pasteurized and lays down conditions of pasteurization.[4]

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Stuttgart Exposition on the Care of Health.—During the present summer an exposition on the care of health has attracted many visitors to Stuttgart. In some respects this exposition resembles the hygiene exposition held at Dresden in 1911. At Stuttgart, however, an effort was made to emphasize not so much the public side of sanitary effort as the fundamental need of the personal care of health. Such subjects as clothing, food stuffs and food values, infectious diseases, housing, care of children, and industrial accidents received special attention. In the popular section of the Exposition the following divisions were represented: Basis and phenomena of life; menaces and protection to life; special circumstances in life; life in communities. The divisions of the scientific section were as follows: bacteriolcgy, pathology and infectious diseases, with special attention to tuberculosis; labor, exercise, statistics, race hygiene, alcoholism; building and housing, streets, removal of waste; water supply, light, heat and ventilation; food supply, meat and milk supply; bodily care, care of sick and invalids, life-saving, methods of burial; army and transportation; hygiene of children, school hygiene, hygiene in factories, trades and professions; insurance and welfare installations; and an historical display.

[1] U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.
[2] *The Survey*, New York City, April 4, 1914.
[3] *Koy* v. *Chicago*, February, 1914.
[4] From M. N. Baker.

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A Tax on Cats was recently proposed in the municipal council of Radebeul owing to the increase in the numbers of the felines and their depredations upon bird life. It was finally decided not to impose the tax, but the city authorities were ordered to procure traps with which to catch the cats.

*

Unemployment in Breslau.—The city council has appropriated 3,000 marks for the actuarial and preparatory work of a commission appointed to draw up a system of municipal insurance against unemployment. It is assumed that the lines of the municipal unemployment insurance scheme recently established in Cologne will be followed in Breslau. The commission in the latter city is to be composed of three liberal, three conservative-clerical, and two socialist members of the municipal council.

*

Houses for Families.—The problem already acutely felt in some American cities of finding housing accommodations for families with children is also present in Germany where it is receiving municipal

attention. In Düsseldorf the city council recently guaranteed a loan made to a local savings and building association by the insurance establishment of the Rhine province. With the funds thus advanced the savings and building association is to erect dwellings. In return for the guarantee of the loan by the municipality the association obligated itself to rent one-fourth of its dwellings to families with small incomes and more than three children. It already owns houses sheltering 649 families with more than 2,000 children.

*

Training Girls to be Housewives.—The failure of former shop and factory girls as wives and housekeepers is often commented upon by American social workers. In this connection it is interesting to note the establishment in Leipsic of a compulsory continuation school for unmarried women employed in industry. According to the regulations provided for this purpose by the municipal council all unmarried women who have finished the public schools and who live, or are employed in industrial, mercantile or other establishments in Leipsic are compelled to attend this continuation school for three years. Even unemployment is not accepted as an excuse for failure to attend the school. Housekeeping is the central subject taught, although instruction is also to be given in industrial and general subjects. The number of hours of instruction ranges from four to six per week. In addition to the compulsory features of the school, provision is also made for voluntary attendance on the part of girls living at home or in service.[1]

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Regulation of Billboards in Denver.—In April, 1914, a new billboard ordinance was passed in Denver. By its terms, a tax of one-half cent per square foot annually is levied on every billboard, electric and wall sign in the city. All signs placed on the roofs of buildings are restricted to ten feet in height and must be placed at least three feet back from the cornice of the building. Further, no billboard or sign may be allowed within 300 feet of any park and none shall be placed along any boulevard or parkway. Approximately $3,000 will be received annually by the city from this tax levy. In addition, the ordinance compels everyone entering the billboard business to obtain a license carrying a fee of $500. This license does not apply to anyone in business at the time of its enactment.

*

Inspection of Amusements in Denver.—Denver acquired a "morals censor" in February 1914. Mrs. Margaret D. Conway was appointed to the office with the title of "special inspector of amusements." She assumed the duties of her office on March 2. Hotels, cafes, restaurants, theaters, moving picture shows, and public dance halls, together with any other agencies affecting the moral welfare of children, are subject to her inspection.

*

Municipal Motion Pictures.—Upon the recommendation of Dwight F. Davis, the public recreation commission of the Municipal Assembly of St. Louis, appropriated $2,000 for an eight weeks' season of free municipal moving pictures in the parks and playgrounds of that city. A contract was let with a motion picture company at $150 per week, they to furnish the machines, booth, movable screen, films and other appurtenances needed, and to move the same from place to place as directed. The films are chosen by a representative from this department and are changed weekly. The general policy so far adopted in selecting films has been to have one of the current weekly films—one travel film, one popular film either comic or drama, and one nature film, such as the animals in the Zoo, and one industrial film, the effort being to keep the educational purpose predominant, but not "too high-browed," to use the Commissioner's apt phrase.

There is a circuit of fourteen parks and playgrounds, with performances every night including Sunday, so that each park gets a performance once every two weeks.

[1] From Prof. R. C. Brooks, Swarthmore College.

Probably next year, with the entire season, the circuit will be changed to take in all the parks and playgrounds. The plan has proved very popular, the number of spectators averaging 7,000 a performance.

The appropriation was made too late to work out any particular new features, and the efforts will be confined to films already made, such as "Safety First," "Fly," "Tuberculosis," and others well-known educational reels. Commissioner Davis believes this plan has very great possibilities and expects to work it out in a broader way for next season.

*

British Municipal Statistics.—The London County Council, in co-operation with the municipal authorities of fifteen other large cities of Great Britain and Ireland (including Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Sheffield, Cardiff, Swansea, Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Belfast, and Dublin), propose to issue in the autumn of 1914 the first volume of comparative municipal statistics on lines similar to the statistical publications of several continental countries. Since there is no general law requiring uniformity of municipal accounts among British cities, it has been necessary for the cities in question to agree upon a uniform basis for compilation.

*

Meetings.—*Union of Canadian Municipalities.* An interesting feature at the fourteenth annual convention at Sherbrooke (Quebec) was a testimonial to the Hon. William D. Lighthall, K. C., F. R. S. C., who has been the efficient honorary secretary from the beginning and who has become by reason of his service, one of the big municipal factors in the Dominion. Mr. Lighthall is one of the two Canadian members of the council of the National Municipal League. Another interesting feature was the report of the secretary of the International Municipal League, which was inaugurated by the Canadian union two years ago.

The Union of Canadian Municipalities is composed of the provincial unions of Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Islands. Its official organ is *The Canadian Municipal Journal.*

The Ontario Municipal Association, the secretary of which is F. S. Spence, the other Canadian member of the National Municipal League council met in Toronto, September 2 and 3.

The City Planning Conference also met in Toronto in May,[1] making the third of the national bodies to meet on Canadian soil, thus emphasizing the truly international character of their work and the identity of interests. This meeting will be covered in the notice of its published proceedings. The sessions were opened by H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, now the Governor–General of Canada.[2]

*

Ohio State Civil Service Organization.—Ohio has joined the list of states which have established state-wide organizations for the promotion of civil service reform. At a meeting in July, in Columbus, of the representatives from the various sections of the state, an organization known as the Ohio civil service organization was perfected for the purpose of promoting the principles of the merit system and securing an honest and efficient enforcement of the state and local civil service laws. Charles B. Wilby of Cincinnati, who has been one of the leaders of the movement for many years, was made president. Mayo Fesler, secretary of the Cleveland civic league who framed the Ohio state civil service law, was made secretary.

The immediate task before the organization, as indicated by the resolutions adopted, is to protect the present state-wide law from unwise amendments which may be suggested at the next session of the legislature.

Ohio in 1912 adopted a constitutional amendment providing for the merit system in appointments and promotions in

[1] See Andrew Wright Crawford's article "Certain Aspects of City Financing and City Planning," Vol. III, page 474.

[2] The next meeting will be in Detroit.

the service of the state, counties and cities; laws have been adapted covering all positions in the service, and the state commission and a majority of the local commissions are making progress in placing the service on the merit basis.

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The American Civic Association, which was organized at St. Louis in June, 1904, will hold its Tenth Annual Convention at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., December 2, 3 and 4. The approaching convention will be of unusual interest as an anniversary occasion. It is expected there will be present many of the charter members of the Association. The Secretary of the Association is Richard B. Watrous, 914 Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

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Edward W. Bemis, public utility expert and former professor of economics in the University of Chicago, has been appointed by Mayor Harrison to be the representative of the city of Chicago on the board of supervising engineers, which board is made up of representatives both of the traction interests and of the city and is constituted for the purpose of bringing about a "continuous" solution of the traction problem. Dr. Bemis has in recent years been engaged on the public side in the settlement of utility complications in Des Moines, Indianapolis, Chicago, St. Paul, and Minneapolis, and at present has under way an appraisal for the city of Detroit of the property of the United Railways.

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Arthur P. Will has been appointed chief of the newly created California legislative council bureau, the purpose of which is to assist legislators and public officials generally in research work and in the preparation of legislation along scientific lines. Writing in the *California Outlook* concerning this appointment Meyer Lissner says: "Mr. Will comes to the office with an unusual equipment. He is a first-class lawyer of the 'office lawyer' type, and has been the editor of the Encyclopædia of Procedure and other law books and a lecturer at law schools. Mr. Will hails originally from New York, and before coming to California his services were availed of in connection with some of the government's anti-trust legislation."

✻

Allen T. Burns. After five years of service as secretary of the Pittsburgh civic commission (now disbanded), Allen T. Burns has been made director of the Cleveland social survey, to be carried on under the auspices of a committee of five representative citizens and financed by the Cleveland Foundation and planned as a five year undertaking. Mr. Burns will begin his work, according to *The Survey,* in the fall, making first a brief preliminary study of general conditions with a view to deciding the main lines of investigation to be followed later. Prior to 1909, when Mr. Burns went to Pittsburgh, he had been in industrial Y. M. C. A. work in Chicago and assistant warden of Chicago Commons.

The Pittsburgh Civic Commission has to its credit the preparation of the elements of a city plan for Pittsburgh in the shape of a comprehensive report of thoroughfares by Frederick Law Olmsted; and enlisted the city administration in commissioning Bion J. Arnold in making an intensive study of traction developments. It co-operated in movements for revolutionizing the tax system, for a new charter, for budgetary and administrative efficiency in the municipal departments, for adequate housing laws and a health code.

DEPARTMENT OF REPORTS AND REVIEWS

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1. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Housing in Six Cities.[1]—As the basis for this review, there have been selected the reports on housing conditions in six American cities, each of which may be regarded as typifying the cities of its section. These are Cambridge, Mass.; Philadelphia; Richmond, Va.; Los Angeles, Cal.; Grand Rapids, Mich., and Cleveland, O.

Of course the word "typifying" must not be strictly construed. There are differences patent to every observer between cities that lie within a few miles of each other, but also there are usually important points of resemblance. A certain style of building obtains over a wide area, a style which is strikingly different from that in another area. The three-decker of New England is an abomination in the eyes of the Philadelphian, whose little box-like row house does not appeal at all to the Bostonian; and different from both are the detached houses of the middle west and the court houses of southern California. Nor need it be said that the six cities do not represent *all* the styles in American housing—New York's six-story row tenements, for instance, are scarcely hinted at; nor that individual examples of many different types may be found in a single city. Yet with all these different styles of housing investigators discover in each city much the same evils.

Here it is necessary to interject one observation. These reports deal chiefly with bad housing conditions. They represent the beginning of the housing movement—even though it may be several years old in one or two of the cities. Their purpose is to call attention to facts which are not generally known, or the significance of which is not generally appreciated. The first result hoped for, that on which most attention is concentrated, is the cure of ills that result from general ignorance, or from the unrestrained greed of landlords, or from the indifference of tenants, or from the inefficiency of public officials, or from several or all of these combined. The reports are designed to awaken an uninformed community to a realization of the facts. So, except incidentally, they do not deal with the question of what is the best type of house. Their writers, seeing the immediate need, set themselves to that. Lack of light, decent toilet facilities, an adequate supply of water, the possibility of some privacy within the dwelling, protection against fire, these are what call for action at once. Minimum standards assuring these must be set for all dwellings, of whatever type they may be. Setting such standards, however, will inevitably have an influence upon the type of dwelling hereafter erected, for some types—such as the flimsy, wooden, barrack tenement that fills its lot—are possible only because health and safety and decency were disregarded.

Once fair standards for the fundamentals have been set, once the community has come to accept these as necessary in every dwelling, interest in the superiority of one type of house over another will increase. This interest has, of course, already begun; but as it deals with complex social problems—family life, recrea-

[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. II, page 68, Vol. III, page 484.

tion, city planning, to mention only a few —the natural point of attack is obviously against bad conditions now existing as to whose badness there can be no difference of opinion. So we find near the beginning of the Cambridge report this statement: "A housing problem may be said to exist wherever persons dwell under conditions dangerous to health, safety and morality."

Cambridge during the past few years has become in increasing degree a three-decker city. It has even a few tenements of greater height and area which shelter many families. Confining its attention to the fundamentals, however, the report says:

> The housing problem of Cambridge is somewhat less serious than that of most large American cities chiefly because Cambridge is provided with complete sewerage and water systems; the fact that lots are generally large and the houses seldom over three stories high, renders crowded buildings and darkened rooms comparatively rare. Yet the following pages show that despite these advantages Cambridge has a housing problem which is at once serious and unnecessary. The problem is by no means confined to the areas here reported. The association has secured scattered records of fire risks, defective sanitation, dark rooms and halls, basement dwellings or unclean premises in almost every ward of the city. Under an inadequate building code combustible high apartment houses with dark halls and insufficient means of escape in case of fire are still being built. The continuous influx of immigrants aggravates the problem of maintenance of dwellings. The following report may be considered fairly representative of the industrial quarters of the city.

Then follow the details of the investigation which show the cosmopolitan character of the population—nineteen nationalities, including Italians, Jews, Poles, Lithuanians, Irish and colored; the dirt and squalor in many of the dwellings, the dark rooms and halls, their basement dwellings, their scant provision for privacy, the abominable toilet facilities used by several families in common—yard closets or broken down water closets located in dark corners or cellars where ventilation is impossible and cleanliness next to impossible—the lack of water or sources of supply which are in constant danger of contamination. Such is a condensed summary of conditions found by the Cambridge housing association. Of course these conditions are not general, but the shame is that they exist at all. That they may cease to exist the association recommends an increase in the number of sanitary inspectors, an enlargement of the powers of the board of health and a revision of those provisions of the building code which deal with the construction of new buildings, especially tenement houses.

Going from Cambridge to Philadelphia we find an organization, the Philadelphia housing commission, several years older than the Cambridge association. Moreover we find a city composed in much larger proportion of single family houses. Yet there too the emphasis must still be laid on unsanitary conditions due to ignorance and neglect in the past.

> On 1,180 properties, 1,361 actual conditions were found of sufficient importance to justify the commission in reporting them to the city authorities. On a more extended investigation of 5,930 properties, 5,974 conditions were found amenable to law, many of which were a serious menace to health. On these same properties there were 4,022 conditions of a similar nature, but not amenable to law or impossible of correction through a lack of sewers. The presence of these defects, if typical for all the areas of deterioration, would mean that there were at least 100,000 conditions prejudicial to health and safety in the city.

Some of these defects were of long standing. One cellar drain had been discharging muck on the cellar floor for more than a year. Another cellar had been receiving the seepage of a privy vault for several months. Cellars were discovered where water had been lying stagnant for five years.

Perhaps the worst single feature in Philadelphia was the number of houses in closely built sections of the city—and Philadelphia knows how to pack its little houses closely—without any sewer connection available. An investigation by the commission disclosed 1,910 properties without sewer connection, while 3,336 retained the privy vault, 1,598 of which had foul and full vaults at the time of inspection. Of these properties, 1,004 were not sewer connected because the city had failed to lay sewers in contiguous streets. The bureau of surveys reported that approximately twenty-five miles of built-up

streets between Vine and Oregon avenue and the two rivers, that is eight per cent of the area of the city where twenty-two per cent of its population live, were without sewers. Partly in consequence of this investigation and the publicity attendant thereon, the city appropriated within one year $1,450,000 for sewer construction.

Another consequence of this investigation and of other work by the commission was the enactment of a housing code which considerably raised the minimum housing standards of Philadelphia.

Richmond resembles Philadelphia more closely than it does Cambridge, but Richmond is in danger of losing its character as a single-family house city. Not only has it a considerable number of two-family houses, but it is permitting the erection of so-called "apartment" houses that overcrowd their lots and promise for the future the evils of the tenement. Yet, except in these cases, there is very little land-crowding in Richmond at present, and even room-crowding does not seem to have reached serious proportions. In fact the average is fairly good, four rooms per family among the whites and 3.2 among the negroes, while the average number of occupants per bedroom among the whites is 2.5 and among the negroes 2.1.

The danger in Richmond is that the deep lot, of which at present only a small proportion is occupied by a single-family house, may become the site of an "apartment" house similar to those already erected. Then Richmond will have land overcrowding with a vengeance. The present housing ills of Richmond are the familiar ones: lack of proper toilets, lack of proper water supply, and, in lesser degree, lack of proper lot drainage. The report adds that the greatest need at the present time is the building of modern dwellings to replace the thousands of ramshackle houses that are unfit to live in. But with these modern houses must be supplied sewers and water. Perhaps the emphasis might have been better placed had the writer of the report said that the greatest need at the present time is a housing law which would condemn dwellings unfit to live in and would assure that new dwellings provide the fundamentals. For in another paragraph he states:

> There are no regulations concerning land-crowding. An apartment or tenement house may cover every square foot of the lot on which it is built [he might have added that some of those recently built come very near doing this] leaving no yard or court for ventilation, and it may be built to any height. There are no restrictions concerning the size of rooms in such houses, no provision for lighting and ventilating halls, or for the adequacy of the water supply and of water closet accommodations.
>
> In dwelling-houses of three or less families, there are no requirements whatever concerning light or ventilation, and a landlord may provide as many dark rooms as he chooses.

In view of these statements it would seem that the Society for the improvement of housing and living conditions in Richmond has a task ready to its hand.

Swinging far around the circle we come to Los Angeles, the city with a gilt-edged climate—see advertisements. Los Angeles has been aware for many years that it has a housing problem. As usual, it began the attack where the abuse was greatest. What the barrack tenements are to New York the house courts are—or perhaps it would be fairer to say were—to Los Angeles. These courts are passageways leading from a street and lined on either side with little dwellings. The old dwellings against which the Los Angeles housing commission —a branch of the city government in this case, not a volunteer organization as in the other cities mentioned—was organized to wage war were of motley construction. Some were made of odds and ends of boards and boxes and pieces of tin. One or two were nothing more than a double line of old freight cars. The toilet conveniences were those which sufficed aboriginal man before he began to live in cities. Water supply was less than haphazard.

So the housing commission confined its attention to house courts. And it has done effective work. The worst of the old courts have been demolished—ninety-four of them within a single year. So standards are being raised. New courts are not only better built, but they provide more rooms

per family and they provide fairly adequate water supply and toilet facilities.

This type of dwelling appears to be peculiarly fitted to southern California—though there seems to be no reason why it should not be adopted in other parts of the country—so it is encouraging to find that with the rising standards goes an increase in the number of such dwellings. Within nine months 409 new house courts were erected. At the time the latest report was issued there were 621 of them containing 3,671 habitations and 9,877 inhabitants. These courts, which make possible the economic development of deep lots without resorting to the tenement or barrack, are now being used not only for the poorer people, but also for the fairly well-to-do. The passageway from the street is made wide enough not only for the walk but also for strips of lawn flanked on either side by attractive little cottages containing three to five rooms and bath.

In spite of this encouraging increase in a good type of dwelling, the tenement house began to cast its threatening shadow over the city. The housing commission being confined to house court abuses, the barrack dwelling grew without restraint. Hints from outsiders that such neglect was preparing the way for greater evils than those so successfully combated finally directed attention to this new danger. A tenement house law had been passed by the state legislature, but it went practically unenforced until last year when the commission was made a bureau of the health department and its powers extended. The next report should give a more nearly adequate picture of housing conditions throughout the city.

Last is the report from Grand Rapids. This is based upon an investigation made under the direction of the housing committee of the Social welfare association. It showed that on the whole the housing of Grand Rapids is unusually good; but there, as everywhere, are the familiar bad conditions. There are some tenements, especially on business streets, where the ground floor is used for stores. This is inevitable. There are dark rooms in these tenement blocks, which is not inevitable. Then there are, as elsewhere, yard privies, yard water closets that freeze in winter and are inconvenient of access both summer and winter, there are insanitary toilets inside the houses, there is common use of toilets which always makes against decency and cleanliness, there is lack of convenient water supply, there is even some land overcrowding—rear houses which occupy the backs of deep lots.

Grand Rapids too has a cosmopolitan population—Hollanders, Germans, Poles, Italians, Syrians. Perhaps it is due to the large proportion of the first-named that it is still so predominantly a small house city, for the Hollander prefers to live in his own house rather than to crowd his family into a tenement. But even the other nationalities, which in other cities we find herded in barracks, here live in detached cottages or in the old houses of a previous generation surrendered to them without alterations which would convert a single family house into at least a sanitary dwelling for several families.

Yet, good as conditions are in the main, despite the instances to the contrary quoted above, there are evidences in plenty that new and lower standards were beginning to obtain a foothold. To its credit the city has recently built a filtration plant for its water supply and city water is being substituted for that of wells, it is extending its sewer system and abolishing privies. But at the same time it has permitted the construction of multiple dwellings in increasing number which do not provide adequately for light and air nor protect their inhabitants adequately against fire. It has even permitted the erection of wooden multiple dwellings on alleys, buildings that fill their lots almost from line to line and so are doomed to be dark and airless if similar buildings are erected next door. This in addition to the abuses always connected with the hidden alley dwelling.

The publication of the Grand Rapids report was followed by an agitation for municipal regulation that would wipe out existing abuses and prevent their recurrence in the future. A housing council

was appointed by the mayor which contained the original housing committee, representatives of other civic and social organizations and city officials. The council held public hearings for several months and finally drafted a housing code based upon Veiller's model law, which was enacted by the common council last February. This is at present the best housing code in America.

The Department of Public Welfare of the City of Cleveland has published as the first of a series of monographs a 34 page illustrated pamphlet by Miss Mildred Chadsey on the housing conditions of Cleveland's workingmen. Miss Chadsey is chief of the Cleveland bureau of sanitation and probably has a more thorough knowledge of the subject on which she writes than any one else in her city. No one who reads her pamphlet can escape the conviction that she knows many things more than she has told, perhaps enough to fill the proverbial book.

Cleveland is one of our most interesting cities; growing, prosperous and wide awake not only to business opportunities but also to opportunities for social advance. So this brief report on the best, the average and the worst of its housing for wage-earners has a value for others than Clevelanders. It paints clearly and forcibly a picture which shows us what we can have and what we shall have if we make no effort. It would pay other cities to measure themselves by Cleveland and learn whether they can equal its best and whether they do not exceed its worst.

JOHN IHLDER.[1]

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Australia's Interest in Housing.—Australia has taken the place in the modern world that Africa held in the ancient, as the continent from which new things come. In housing, if one may judge from the "Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Question of the Housing of Workmen in Europe and America," recently issued by the government of New South Wales, Australia admits its need of learning from others. The report is admirably presented, the matter interesting and instructive, the text clear and well illustrated by pictures and maps showing existing conditions in Sydney, the metropolis of New South Wales, and some of the best housing work in Germany, England and the United States.

The author, Prof. Robert Francis Irvine, M.A., of the University of Sydney, necessarily suffered from the limitations of being only a single individual whose stay in the countries described was limited. So he could see only a part of the work that is being done and was forced to accept his understanding of the opinions of the comparatively few persons he met. These are limitations to which all visitors are subject. If he, therefore, gives undue prominence to New York City as representative of the United States, the lapse is forgivable; for, with the worst conditions in the country to work on, New York has made the most progress in improving those conditions, and so is most likely to attract the stranger's attention. Fortunately, however, New York, with its solid rows of six-story tenements, is not typical. Much more nearly so is Chicago which has reduced the height to three stories and, in its newer areas, is becoming more and more a city of one- and two-family houses.

The report begins with a discussion of the housing problem in the abstract and quotes with approval the words of one of our American students, Dr. James Ford of Harvard, as describing the purpose behind our efforts. It deals briefly with the causes and effects of housing conditions today, then takes up the general trend of housing legislation, housing by the state, municipal housing, housing by industrial companies, housing by associations, co-partnership housing, garden cities and the housing problem, block dwellings and tenement houses versus cottages, the possibility of building good houses cheaply. Town planning as a preventive of future evils, and ends with a discussion of housing policy and recommendations.

The pictures and maps used to illustrate the descriptions of work in Europe and America are familiar to all of us who have

[1] Field Secretary, National Housing Association.

read much housing literature, but those which illustrate present conditions in Sydney furnish at least a mild surprise. They are so like pictures taken in the poorer districts of many American cities that only two things assure us they really represent scenes in the antipodes. One is the titles, the other that the streets are so often narrower even than our alleys. Only the *cul de sac* courts of Philadelphia evidence so economical a turn of mind as these thoroughfares in the metropolis of the newest continent.

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Taxation Reports.—During the past year only a small number of permanent state tax commissions made formal reports. On the other hand, the papers and proceedings of voluntary tax-reform associations and of conferences of tax officials have been unusually numerous and valuable. The subject matter of these reports is, of course, too diverse to admit of comprehensive summary. But the following topics, which were more frequently and more instructively discussed, are worthy of notice: (1) The reform of the general property tax; (2) the increase of government expenditures; (3) tax administration; (4) local option in taxation; (5) discriminatory taxes on land values; and (6) the taxation of public service corporations.

Perhaps the best short discussion of the general property tax is to be found in the report of the Massachusetts tax commissioner. In Massachusetts the state apportioned property tax is increasing more rapidly than the total of assessed property. Hence, the inequalities of that tax become annually more glaring. There is no indication that the rapid increase of state expenditures will cease in the near future. Relief measures are, therefore, imperative. The commissioner does not believe that relief can be obtained solely by stricter assessment laws, even though the attempt is made to provide for better administration. Hence, it will be necessary to eliminate the provision for uniformity in the existing tax legislation and to provide independent sources of state revenue.

At the Conference on Taxation in Indiana, held at Bloomington last February, a somewhat different view of the matter was taken. Although the conference did not commit itself to any particular plan of reform of the general property tax, a majority of those who read papers or engaged in debate agreed with the contention of the Massachusetts commissioner in holding that one of the first steps in bettering tax conditions is the abolition of laws requiring rigid uniformity. But, on the other hand, a majority asserted that a not less important step in achieving reform is the establishment of strong central control of local assessment.

In both of the above reports there is much incidental comment on the problem of increasing expenditures. More elaborate examination of that subject may, however, be found in the papers read at the 1913 meeting of the National Tax Association and in a recent "Special Report" of the Idaho Tax Commission. The latter presents in statistical array many valuable facts concerning the detail of public expenditure and public indebtedness in Idaho.

Problems in tax administration were discussed principally with relation to two topics: (1) Central supervision of local assessments, and (2) the technique of the assessment of real estate. In a paper read before the conference on taxation in Indiana, Commissioner Link, of that state, pointed out the weakness of any system of tax administration that, like Indiana's, requires a central commission to "see that all assessments within the state are made according to law" (at full value), without at the same time empowering them to appoint, remove, and discipline the local assessor. The local assessor is usually more inclined to serve his influential constituents, whose interests are frequently at variance with those of the state at large, than he is to obey the regulations of the state tax commission. If the commission is to bring about real equality between localities it must have the power to control the local assessor and the initial assessment.

The technique of assessment received attention in nearly all reports. Especially valuable is a small pamphlet entitled "How to Assess Property in Cities and Rural Towns," published by the Wisconsin Tax Commission. It is prepared by Mr. Cowles and Mr. Leenhouts, assessors of incomes in Wisconsin. According to Mr. Cowles the first requisite for an accurate full-value assessment of urban real estate is a thorough knowledge, on the part of the assessor, of the legal definition of property subject to taxation; the second is the provision of intelligible assessment blanks and an accurate tax map; the third, the use of some well-recognized rule for calculating the site-value of lots of varying depth after the front-foot value of the block has been ascertained; and fourth, the use of a depreciation table in ascertaining the value of buildings. Both in this pamphlet and in the report of the National tax association are to be found explanations of rules for calculating the value of lots of varying depth.

All these aid for assessors can be made use of by the official in the rural towns. But they are of less value than when used in assessing urban property. According to Mr. Leenhouts the assessor of rural real estate needs accurate tax maps, elaborate assessment blanks, and depreciation tables, but he must pay a great deal of attention to the peculiarities of each tract of land. It is imperative that he first classify, according to use, all the land in any tract before he proceeds to assess it. Unit, or per-acre, values should be established by reference to records of sales, by consultation with real estate experts, by public hearings, and by examination of the testimony taken by the board of review in previous years. These unit values should, however, be applied with caution.

What is perhaps the best recent summary of the arguments for and against local option in taxation appears in the "Transactions" of the Commonwealth Club of California for May, 1914. At the next general election six constitutional amendments dealing with taxation will be presented to the voters of California. These amendments provide: (1) For exempting the property of colleges from taxation; (2) for exempting shipping; (3) for the abolition of the poll tax; (4) for granting to local units the right to exempt certain classes of property from taxation; (5) for limiting to tax-paying electors the privilege of voting on bond issues; and (6) for the taxation of the property of counties and cities outside their boundaries. The first three of these proposed amendments would provide for further constitutional limitation of the objects of taxation. The fourth empowers the localities to introduce such limitations as they see fit. It is impossible to summarize briefly the arguments advanced for and against the local option amendment. No essentially new arguments were discovered either to support or to attack the proposition. It is interesting to note, however, that all sides admitted that a probable consequence of the passage of such an amendment would, in many counties, be the introduction of exemptions on such a large scale that only land and franchises, which legally may not be exempted, would remain taxable.

Further discussion of proposals to impose heavier burdens on land may be found in the papers read at the 1913 meeting of the National Tax Association. The recently introduced scheme for the partial exemptions of buildings in Pittsburgh is admirably explained in Mr. Shelby M. Harrison's "The Disproportion of Taxation in Pittsburgh." Beginning in 1860 a system of classification of lands was established in that city which gave the large landowner every incentive to withhold his property from productive use and at the same time discriminated against the owners of small homes. All the real estate in the city was divided into: (1) "agricultural" land, which paid one-half the rate prevailing in the ward in which it was located; (2) "rural," which paid two-thirds the prevailing rate, and (3) "full city," which paid the full rate. In the perverted form in which it existed in 1910 this classification permitted tracts of undeveloped land located near the heart of the city to escape with a payment of one-half the rate imposed upon surrounding

improved property. Residential property in the best districts was frequently classed as "rural" because the owner had devoted a large part of the area to lawns and ornamental trees and shrubs. While these partial exemptions were permitted to the larger and wealthier landowners, lands in the poorer districts were taxed at the full rate. These inequalities were aggravated by the fact that the cost of maintaining the common schools is localized. Each sub-district bears the cost of its schools. Hence the burden of the school tax was very great in the more populous parts of the city and very light in the business and better residential sections. Taxation for school purposes varied from .17 to 15 mills on the dollar of assessed valuation. The discovery and publication of these facts resulted in the passage of laws that have now abolished the classification scheme and will, within a few years, bring about the taxation of improvements at one-half the rate imposed upon site-values.

A most important document dealing with the taxation of corporations has recently been issued by the United States Bureau of Corporations. This is a volume of some four hundred pages designed principally to summarize and to bring up to date the bulletins on corporation taxation previously issued. Much new material has, however, been added. One chapter deals with the decisions of state and federal courts interpretative of tax laws; another summarizes recent reports of tax commissions and gives the essential facts concerning the organization and powers of permanent state commissions; and a final chapter presents in condensed form legislation and constitutional amendments for 1912.

Excellent analyses of some specific problems in corporation taxation are to be found in the 1913 report of the National tax association and in the report of the New York conference. In the latter, Commissioner Sullivan of New York presents a critical analysis of the New York system. In the former, Mr. Randall J. LeBoeuf criticises the present method of taxing corporations in that state. Of wider interest and application is the "Report of the Committee on Taxation of Public Service Corporations," which was made to the National tax association. This report, written by Professor Charles J. Bullock, deals with the problem of equalizing the taxes levied upon public service corporations as compared with other property. The report first summarizes the practice of the different states. It then deals with three theories about the necessity for equalization, which are discussed in some detail. First is the theory that, since public service corporations hold franchises of great value, they should be subjected to higher taxes than other concerns, in order that the state may regain a portion of the value of the franchise or participate in the monopoly profits that such corporations are supposed to earn. But this theory becomes untenable as soon as the state begins to regulate the charges of these concerns. The second theory assumes regulation, but holds that such regulation makes equalization unnecessary. Thus, it is said, if the corporation is under-taxed the regulatory bodies will compel a reduction in rates or a betterment of service, and the public will gain indirectly as a result of low taxation. If taxes are too high, charges for services will be higher, and the state will then be employing the corporation to collect a part of the taxes that must be paid by the consuming public. But this theory neglects the problem of securing equality between consumers and taxpayers; for it cannot be assumed that the taxpayers and the consumers are the same persons. It is not equitable, therefore, to compel the users of the service to pay amounts that should be collected from the taxpayers. The third theory, which is approved, holds that the taxation of public service corporations should be governed by the general rule of equality. But real equality means similar treatment for all properties and businesses similarly situated and of essentially the same nature. Hence, the rule does not preclude, but rather demands classification of property for purposes of taxation.

In addition to these reports and papers

there are many incidental references to the taxation of public service corporations in the reports of permanent tax commissions. F. B. GARVER.

Leland Stanford Junior University.

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Municipal Statistics.—*Financial Reports of Statistics of Cities Having a Population of over 30,000, 1912.* United States Census Bureau; 1914.

Sixth Annual Report on the Statistics of Municipal Finances. Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics, 1914.

Laws Relating to Municipal Finances, Municipal Bulletin No. 6. Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics, 1914.

A commendable sign of improved efficiency in these official compilations of municipal statistics is their earlier appearance after the period covered. The preceding reports of the Census and Massachusetts bureaus appeared late in 1913, and were renewed in the April number of this journal. The present census report covers the fiscal year 1912; and the Massachusetts report covers fiscal years ending from November 30, 1911, to March 15, 1912.

The general plan of these reports has now become well established, and varies little from year to year. A novel feature in the present census report is a table giving data as to the organization of city government—the number of members and character of the legislative body, and the terms and salaries of certain officers. Forty-eight of the 195 cities of over 30,000 population had bicameral councils, in forty-seven of which one house was elected by wards, and in thirty-seven both houses were elected by wards; 102 cities had single chambered councils, fifty-seven of which were elected by wards, ten at large, and thirty-five by both methods; forty-five of these cities had commission government in 1912, and this plan has been extended to twenty-four others since that date. In seven of the nine cities of over 500,000 population, the mayor is now elected for a term of four years; while in the smaller cities, a two-year term still prevails.

In the introduction to the Massachusetts report, it is noted that fifty-nine cities and towns in that state have petitioned the bureau of statistics for an audit of their accounts or the installation of an accounting system—twenty of these since the preceding report. This includes municipalities ranging from Gosnold, with a population of 152, to Lowell, with a population of 106,294.

A comparative statement of valuation and current revenue and charges in the thirty-three cities of Massachusetts for 1907 and 1911 shows the largest increase of valuation and charges for Pittsfield (57.8 and 44.3 per cent), while the largest increase in current revenue has been in Beverley (49.4 per cent). For the thirty-three cities, valuation has increased 13.9 per cent, current revenue 23.7 per cent, and current charges 13.5 per cent. In 1907, the aggregate current charges were nearly $1,766,838 more than the current revenue; in 1911, the current revenue was 3,618,479 more than the current revenue. This is a remarkable improvement in financial condition, for which the publication of comparable statistics by the state bureau may claim some of the credit. J. A. F.

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Some Chicago Reports.—GEORGE E. HOOKER: *Through Routes for Chicago Steam Railroads.* The City Club of Chicago, 1914.

A Study of Rapid Transit in Seven Cities, Municipal Reference Library, Bulletin No. 3. Chicago, July, 1914.

Preliminary Report, by the Chicago Municipal Markets Commission. April 27, 1914.

These reports have to do with various aspects of the problem of local transportation and distribution—the first two with reference to passengers, the third with reference to food supplies.

Mr. Hooker's study is a further discussion of the question of steam railroad terminals in Chicago; and emphasizes the importance of linking the various railroads so as to develop through routes for local transportation, in preference to the construction of extensive terminal stations. By this means it is urged that through

traffic would be better distributed, while local traffic would be rapidly developed. In addition to the discussion of the situation in Chicago, there is a chapter on through routes in operation or proposed in other cities both in Europe and America. This report is published in attractive form, with numerous diagrams, charts and illustrations.

The bulletin on Rapid Transit is a comparative study of elevated and subway railroads in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, London, Paris and Berlin, prepared by Frederick Rex, Municipal Reference Librarian, at the request of alderman Theodore K. Long. It includes data on the development of rapid transit in these cities, mileage, comparative costs, types of construction, passenger traffic, motive power, rates of fare, sanitary conditions and noise, and general observations, with a comparison of the relative advantages of subways and elevated railways. This forms a useful collection of material; but there is no attempt to formulate any definite conclusions.

The Chicago Municipal Markets Commission was established by an order of the city council, passed on October 27, 1913, and consists of three members of the council and six other persons, representing the social settlements, the City Club, the Woman's City Club and a transportation engineer. The preliminary report is a study of the cost of living and the public market facilities of Chicago and other cities. The commission finds the present market facilities of Chicago are merely private trading centers, which are entirely inadequate, unsanitary and extremely wasteful; and it recommends that the city establish retail markets and farmers' markets, and a tribunal to investigate complaints, and that a trolley freight service should be placed in operation.

J. A. F.

JUDICIAL DECISIONS

Eminent Domain. Compensation.—The supreme court of Iowa, in *Tracy* v. *City of Mt. Pleasant*,[1] a suit to condemn property for use as a reservoir, had to pass on the elements that may be taken into consideration in fixing the value for such purposes. It refused to allow the necessity or convenience to the plaintiff to be considered, but did allow the owner to show that the property sought was peculiarly adapted for the purpose for for which it was desired, and in particular to show that the land, being part of a basin adapted for reservoir purposes, would be considered more valuable by persons generally than if it were not so located. The court thereby attempts to draw a distinction which it is likely to find difficult to carry out in practice in many cases.

The court of appeals of New York, in re *Water Supply of New York*,[2] allowed the value of a business owned by tenants at will on land about to be taken by condemnation, to be estimated in view of the profits therefrom, and refused to insist on proof of an established market value. The court laid down the rule that interest on invested capital, rental paid and depreciation, should be charged against gross profits of the business as an expense, and also the reasonable value of all labor necessary to maintain it, though performed by the owner in the business, and that the actual value of the business as so determined should be the basis for settlement.

*

Delay in Street Improvements.—The common situation of street improvements contemplated by a city being held up by property owners' suits, and resulting damage to property, the access to which was cut off by the improvements in course of construction, was presented to the supreme court of Washington in *Williams* v. *City of Seattle*,[3] The alleged liability of the city for such damage, however, was not sustained, the court holding that the city, being authorized to improve streets in the exercise of its discretion, without

[1] N. W. R. 78.
[2] 105 N. E. R. 213.
[3] 139 P. R. 45.

at the same time improving all streets in a district or cross streets between those improved, could not be held liable for such damages caused in the process by reason of access to property being made difficult.

The supreme court of Kansas, in *Price* v. *City of McPherson*,[1] held that where the owners of property liable to taxation for street improvements do not, within twenty days after the last publication of notice thereof, protest against the improvement, the city has power to cause it to be made. That a delay of nine months thereafter does not deprive the city of the power to proceed with the improvement, although before the passage of the ordinance to proceed with it a majority of owners of property liable to taxation therefor protest against such improvement. If the property owners do not utilize the statutory period for protest they cannot be heard thereafter.

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Construction of Billboard Ordinance.—A Milwaukee city ordinance provides that no billboard, fence or other structure of any kind to be used for advertising purposes, shall be maintained, except under the conditions prescribed therein. In *Thomas Cusick* v. *City of Milwaukee*,[2] the court held that a landowner may permit advertisements to be placed on a fence built around his lot, if the fence be not built simply for advertising purposes, and that in the latter event only are the conditions prescribed in the ordinance binding. The same theory is extended to buildings, it being held that buildings may be used for billboards without complying with the conditions set out in the billboard ordinance, except the building be erected merely for the use of its walls for advertising purposes.

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Obligation of Contract.—The city of Birmingham passed a municipal ordinance attempting to nullify a contract made with a telephone company, purporting to fix rates to be charged by the company to subscribers over a term of years. The ordinance did not attempt, however, to substitute other rates or to restrict the right of the Company to fix rates in any way. In *Southern Bell Tel. & Tel. Co.* v. *City of Birmingham et al*,[3] the United States district court held that the ordinance did not impair the obligation of the contract, and that a court of equity has no power to grant relief against it by means of an injunction; and that a court of equity is without jurisdiction to grant relief by injunction against subscribers of a telephone company who refuse to comply with the terms of a contract between the company and the city in which they live.

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State Law Versus Municipal Ordinance.—Conflicts between state regulation of motor vehicle traffic and attempted regulation by municipalities are common. The supreme court of Illinois, in passing on such a conflict, in *City of Chicago* v. *Francis*,[4] considered the case of the owner of a motor vehicle who had obtained a certificate from the secretary of state, under the motor vehicle law, which among other things prescribes that no such owner should be required to display any other number than that issued by the secretary of state. The city and village act, however, authorizes municipalities to impose and collect license fees on wagons and other vehicles conveying loads over city streets, and the city of Chicago attempted to compel him to use a city tag as well. The court held that while a municipality is authorized to impose license fees on motor vehicles, an ordinance, making it an offense to operate a motor vehicle unless displaying a license tag issued by the municipality, is void.

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Shifting Liability for Injury.—In *City of Georgetown* v. *Cantrill et al*,[5] the Kentucky court of appeals had before it the following state of facts. The city, having contracted with a private party to

[1] 139 P. R. 1162
[2] 147 N. W. R. 30.
[3] 240 Fed. 709.
[4] 104 N. E. R. 662.
[5] 164 S. W. R. 929.

cut and remove trees from the side of the street, and the contractor having negligently piled the wood in the street and failed to remove it when the city ordered him to do so, by reason of which a passerby was injured, the injured party recovered damages against it. The city's claim to indemnity against the contractor was sustained.

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Filing Claims for Allowance.—The common provision by statute or city charter, that no action shall be maintained against a city on a claim unless the claimant shall first have presented it to the city council or other governing authority for allowance, and it shall have been disallowed, was held by the Wisconsin supreme court, in *Carthew* v. *City of Plattesville*,[1] not applicable to an action for equitable relief based on the city's maintaining a nuisance. The court further held that the fact of the claimant's being entitled also to money damages could not be considered to bring the case within the statute.

*

Tax Levied to Pay Judgment.—The United States circuit court of appeals, in *City of Harper, Kansas* v. *Daniels*,[2] ruled very positively on a question which it would seem ought never to have got into court. A judgment had been recovered against the city on certain city warrants drawn on the general fund, and the owner of the judgment demanded that a tax for the full amount authorized by statute for ordinary city purposes be levied each year until his judgment was paid. The court held the demand reasonable, and that it could be enforced by mandamus.

*

Liability for Sale of Liquor.—The United States supreme court, in a memorandum decision, in *Prenica, et al* v. *Bulger*,[3] following a number of decisions to the effect that the states have a right to regulate the sale of liquor pretty much as they see fit, held that a Nebraska law permitting wives and children of habitual drunkards to recover damages from saloon keepers who sell liquor to their husbands and fathers, was not unconstitutional. A verdict for $5000 damages obtained under this law in the Nebraska courts, on the ground that the husband had been made an habitual drunkard, was thereby affirmed.

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Removal of Trees from Streets.—The power of a city to remove shade trees from a street without liability to an abutting property owner is sustained by the supreme court of Mississippi, in *Town* v. *Durant*.[4] The court qualifies its opinion only to the extent that the removal be not made arbitrarily and in good faith to improve the street.

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Liabilities for Death.—The court of civil appeals of Texas, in *Elliott* v. *City of Brownwood*,[5] construing a Texas statute authorizing an action for death by a negligent act, held that a municipal corporation cannot be considered liable for the death of a person caused by its negligence in maintaining its streets.

BOOK REVIEWS

STATE REGULATION OF PUBLIC UTILITIES. Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science.

The May issue of *The Annals* is a special volume on state regulation of public utilities. It is made up of twenty-eight articles furnished by twenty-seven contributors, including well-known public utility commissioners and commission experts, consulting engineers, authors, attorneys and college professors. The subject matter of the volume is arranged under seven heads, as follows: (1) Legislation as to state public utility commis-

[1] 147 N. W. R. 375.
[2] 211 F. R. 57.
[3] 34 S. C. R. 676.
[4] 64 S. R. 657.
[5] 166 S. W. R. 932.

sions; (2) state regulation and municipal activities; (3) uniform accounting and franchises; (4) public control over securities; (5) valuation of public utilities; (6) electric and water rates; and (7) standards for service. Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Texas, California and Washington are represented in the discussion.

From such a repertory of wisdom it is hard to select particular contributions for special comment. The discussion of the Pennsylvania utility law by Mr. Trinkle, counsel to the state commission, and Mr. Brown, of Pittsburgh, brings out the important fact that Pennsylvania has gone further than any other state in discouraging municipal ownership. A certificate of convenience and necessity is required before any Pennsylvania city can build a municipal plant to compete with a private plant already in existence, while at the same time no authority is given the city to purchase the private plant. The Pennsylvania law thus protects private monopoly and practically shuts the door against municipalization as a possible remedy for the evils of such monopoly.

In the discussion of local versus state regulation Prof. J. Allen Smith, of Seattle, and Stiles P. Jones, of Minneapolis, make vigorous and, to the reviewer, effective pleas against exclusive state regulation as it has been developed in Washington and Wisconsin.

William J. Norton, of Chicago, proves to his own satisfaction and to ours that the indeterminate franchise of the Wisconsin and Indiana type, under state regulation, is a very good thing for the companies. Commissioner John H. Roemer, of Wisconsin, is quoted as describing the indeterminate permits now granted in that state as "the practically perpetual exclusive franchises provided by the statute."

Commissioner John M. Eshleman, of California, with characteristic vigor and directness, upholds the necessity of direct public control over stock and bond issues. He maintains that in actual practice a company's outstanding capitalization has an unavoidable effect upon rates and service. This is because regulation of rates and service is largely dependent for its effectiveness upon the willingness of the company to obey orders.

In the discussion of valuations Dr. Robert H. Whitten, of New York, urges that accrued depreciation should be deducted from capital account and treated as a deficit until made up out of earnings. In regard to "going value" as a measure of "development expenses," he urges that this item also should be amortized out of surplus earnings, and should not be treated as a permanent addition to capital. On the other hand James E. Allison, of St. Louis, valiantly defends his thesis that a property, not previously subject to regulation, should not be depreciated for rate-making purposes. Mr. Allison manifests a perfect willingness to reverse the United States Supreme Court whenever he thinks that the court is wrong. He would treat accrued depreciation as an additional element of development expenses and permanently capitalize it. The issue between Dr. Whitten and Mr. Allison is reasonably clear, and it turns upon a question of public policy. Neither of them wishes to confiscate the property of the investor, but Dr. Whitten would insist on paying back to the investor the portion of his capital that is used up in developing the business and getting the plant settled down to a normal condition of wear, while Mr. Allison would not provide for the withdrawal of any portion of the investment, but would leave the used-up portions in the property as recognized intangible values. Believing that it is of the utmost importance to keep capital value down as low as possible, both for rate-making and for municipal purchase, the writer is forced to take sides against Mr. Allison, much as it would please him to join in a public-spirited movement to recall a few leading decisions of the supreme court. In regard to the treatment of franchise value, the writer must take issue with Dr. Whitten. Franchise value is not properly considered as a separate element of value

in rate proceedings, except to the extent that the franchise has been capitalized with public sanction and thereby comes under the ruling in the consolidated gas case. Where the franchise fixes the rate, it has a distinct element of value, but in that case it makes rate regulation impossible. Where the franchise does not fix the rate, its only possible effect in a rate proceeding, except as above noted, should be to lower the reasonable rate of return on account of the additional security it gives. Even a non-exclusive franchise is something of a guaranty against competition. Of course, in any case, the legitimate and necessary cost of securing the franchise originally is a proper element of capital value.

In discussing electric and water rates, Commissioner Erickson, of Wisconsin, and George W. Fuller, of New York, both lay emphasis upon the importance of rate schedules adjusted to the cost of service for different classes of consumers. There is no indication in Mr. Erickson's paper of a tendency to favor an approach to uniformity of electric rates on the basis of the amount of current used. He would base rates upon three distinct elements, namely: (1) investment to meet the consumer's demand, (2) operating expenses in looking after the consumer, and (3) amount of current used by the consumer. He would even approve the policy of taking big contracts at special prices below the proportionate cost of the service, rather than forego such contracts altogether. Mr. Fuller favors almost as complex an adjustment of water rate schedules. Gas rates, telephone rates and street railway fares are not discussed in this volume, but the logic of the principles laid down would seem to point toward a complete abandonment of the "post office" rule in public utility charges. Under the scientific refinements of rate regulation, we may expect not only the abandonment of the one-man-one-city-one-fare principle on the street cars, but the rejection of the zone system as too crude to be tolerated in a modern community. No doubt some kind of a meter could be invented to be attached to a passenger when he boards a car that would register the exact distance he rides. He might be charged, say, one cent a mile for distance. Then, a reckoning could be made of the capital invested in order to bring the street railway past his door, and he could be charged a certain amount on account of "readiness to serve." By adding a third item for letting him on and off, or what we might describe as "terminal charges," we would be getting street railway rates somewhere near a scientific cost-of-service basis. Possibly, the editor of *The Annals* purposely omitted the consideration of gas and street car rates from this excellent volume, from fear that his esteemed contributors might carry the science of rate-making to a point past the comprehension, or at least past the appreciation, of the average reader.

One of the most clear-cut and interesting contributions in the entire volume is the very last one, in which P. A. Sinsheimer, stock and bond expert of the California railroad commission, expounds ten rules for service formulated from the actual practices of the California commission. If every state commission could give as good an account of itself, even theoretically, there would be much less evidence of popular reaction against exclusive state regulation than there now is.

Delos F. Wilcox.

New York City.

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Law, Legislative and Municipal Reference Libraries. By John B. Kaiser. Boston: Boston Book Company.

John Boynton Kaiser has produced a timely book. Thirty-four states have legislative reference libraries; and Congress is considering the question of a national legislative reference bureau which has been advocated in a special report by the librarian. Seventy-five municipal libraries are engaged in municipal research work and every county town has its important collection of law books; and there are 534 important law libraries in the United States alone. A prominent attor-

ney in the state of New York has said that there is no class of men, professional or otherwise, so dependent upon books as the lawyers; and it might have been said with equal truth that no collections of books have been less cared for than those of the law library. No adequate shelf arrangement by subject has ever been devised for these collections; and in most cases the classification used generally has been discarded when the law books were taken into consideration.

Mr. Kaiser has suggested a shelf arrangement "with variations." There can be little doubt that text books should be arranged alphabetically, and he very diplomatically suggests

(a) Alphabetically by authors, or
(b) Alphabetically by subjects, then by authors.

It may be said that a large proportion of lawyers coming into a library immediately ask for "Page on Contracts"; and the law librarian soon finds that the arrangement of text books by authors alphabetically does away with the necessity of other classification, which is entrusted to the card catalogue in the cases where a person wishes everything that the library may have on "contracts." Mr. Kaiser very properly recommends also the state as a unit for material referring to the United States. There is a correct list of law library catalogues, and a rather incomplete list of dealers in such material.

The present volume will be better known by that part of it which refers to legislative and municipal reference libraries.

Mr. Kaiser gives credit for the formation of the first legislative reference bureau to Mr. Dewey, who, as director of the New York state library, created the office of legislative sub-librarian in Albany. Mr. Shaw, the first appointee, busied himself principally in the preparation of the classified summary of an index to the general legislation of the several states. Eleven years later Dr. Charles McCarthy developed a similar department in connection with his work at the University of Wisconsin. It, however, developed a militancy hitherto unknown in work of this character. He did not wait for the legislator to come to him, but carried the results of his work to the legislator. The history of the movement is very adequately described by Mr. Kaiser, who, however, does not give sufficient reason for making such work necessarily a division of the state library. The functions of the legislative reference bureau are almost entirely connected with the legislature. The work of the state librarian is administrative. The legislative reference librarian has to act as the confidential adviser of people of all shades of political opinion, and it would be very inexpedient for him to have to await the opinion of a superior officer; and this would detract very much from his usefulness.

There are adequate bibliographies of the comparisons of laws, and experience with legislation on current political movements and tendencies; on criminology and penology; together with a good list of serial publications referring to comparative legislation. Proper emphasis is placed upon bill drafting as the most important accessory in this work, and the useful series of blanks used in this work is included. "Bill drafting is a science," says Mr. Kaiser, "successful bill drafting an art. Its technique involves skill in the use of words and phrases and in their proper juxtaposition. It involves a knowledge of constitutional and statutory provision relating to form. It involves, further, and in the same person, a thorough understanding of the conditions making necessary proposed legislation, and an ability to fit means to ends." Oh! that each legislator might have drummed into him the quotation from Professor Patten of the University of Pennsylvania!! "Legislative action, however, should be based upon demonstrated need, careful study of the proposed remedy in substance, of its constitutionality, of the meaning of every word in the proposed act; with a careful examination of existing decisions as well as statutes. Knowledge of law as well as of the English language is required, and the pen of one who thinks he has a facility for legislative expression should indeed 'make haste slowly.'" In view of the fact that 2,732

bills were offered at the last session of the Pennsylvania legislature it would be interesting to know how many of the authors had this spirit in mind.

The classification under the subject municipal reference libraries includes

1. Origin;
2. Materials;
3. Handling of material;
4. City council procedure;
5. Attitude and qualifications of a municipal reference librarian and opportunities for training for this work;
6. General success of libraries now established;
7. Future possibilities.

As is the case in the discussion of legislative reference bureaus, too much emphasis is placed here and there upon work which has been described with a facile pen.

The frequent meetings of large bodies of interested workers has developed a series of ready speakers who astonish their own assistants by their descriptions of the magnitude of the work they are carrying on, and who become finally convinced that they are telling the truth. At the same time the more modest official who has been accomplishing the real work wonders whether it is worth while for him to travel miles to listen to such fiction. Mr. Kaiser has for the most part avoided reference to the published boastings of these histrionic artists.

It is an open question as to whether the municipal reference library should form a part of the system of the free library, or, whether it should be an independent office relying upon indexes for a great part of the information furnished. It is unquestionably best that such a department in every case should be located in the city hall.

The qualifications of the municipal reference librarian are stated to be, that the head of such a library should have a liberal education with special training in political science, economics, municipal government, and methods of organization and administration, and that he should be selected for merit only. In the term "merit" might be included alertness, directness of statement and general approachableness. He must preserve an attitude of neutrality on all questions. If he become an advocate he will lose ground and impair his department's standing and reputation.

Mr. Kaiser very properly remarks that "a classification acceptable to all municipal librarians is still a desideratum, as is also a standard guide for assigning subject headings." There are many people who believe that from an economic standpoint the city is the greatest problem confronting the nation to-day, and are urging the creation of a national bureau, or, a department of municipalities, but the municipal library's needs at present are trained workers and the information in print from those who have successfully handled the thousands of questions which have been presented to them with intelligence and dispatch. The answer as to what constitutes efficiency in this case should come from those who are helped rather than from those who are transfixed with the arrangement of material and the accumulation of the printed page.

The volume forms interesting reading, is well arranged, with proper bibliographies under each heading, and, above all, is well indexed.

THOMAS LYNCH MONTGOMERY.[1]

IMMIGRANT AND LIBRARY: ITALIAN HELPS. WITH LISTS OF SELECTED BOOKS. By John Foster Carr. New York: Immigrant Education Society.

THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM: A STUDY OF AMERICAN IMMIGRATION CONDITIONS AND NEEDS. By Jeremiah W. Jenks and W. Jett Lauck. Third Edition. New York: Funk and Wagnalls.

There are numerous signs of the times which indicate that the United States is waking up to the fact that her immigrant population constitutes a problem in a very real sense of the word. The problem is not merely an academic one, but a very practical one, having to do with the bearing of immigration upon the

[1] State Librarian of Pennsylvania.

life of the American nation, as well as that of the immigrants. There are dangers to be guarded against and advantages to be secured. Among these signs of the times is the growing effort to meet the foreigner at least half way in his effort to avail himself of that advance in education which is supposed to be characteristic of American life. The former of the two books named above is an example and an outcome of this effort, and seems to be very well adapted for its purpose. The title, perhaps, is somewhat misleading, as the main part of the volume is taken up with the lists of selected books mentioned in the subtitle, and what goes before is merely introductory to them. This minor matter aside, however, this little book should be of much assistance to librarians who are desirous of helping their Italian patrons to read wisely, or who are trying to equip their libraries to meet the needs of Italian readers. The books listed are all in the Italian language, and cover a wide field of reading, being grouped under various headings such as biography, history, fiction, drama, etc.

"The Immigration Problem," at its first appearance, took a unique place in immigration literature. It was inevitable that a digest of the report of the immigration commission should be produced, and Professors Jenks and Lauck, from their intimate connection with the commission, and their own personal qualifications, were especially well equipped to prepare such a volume. The fact that the book is already in its third edition shows that there was a large demand for such a book, and that the work of the authors was well done. The present edition, though "revised and enlarged," does not differ materially from the first. Numerous passages, including the entire chapter on recent immigrants in agriculture, have been rewritten, and some loose and inaccurate statements have been corrected or improved. The general tone of the discussions is perhaps a little less optimistic as to the ease of assimilation, and a little more definitely on the side of restriction. A large number of new tables have been added, the text of proposed new immigration laws has been brought up to date, and the white-slave traffic act of 1910 has been included in the appendices. Another valuable new feature is a chart, showing the immigration by countries from 1820 down to 1912.

H. P. Fairchild.

Yale University.

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A Generation of Progress in Our Public Schools. Issued by the Public Education Association, Philadelphia, 1914. 70 pp.

A Primer of Public School Progress. Issued by the Public Education Association of the City of New York, 1914. 37 pp.

The public education associations of Philadelphia and New York have almost simultaneously issued publications to show the place of citizen co-operation in the progress of the public schools and to demonstrate the value of such organizations as their own as a means of such co-operation. Both start from the thesis, stated in one case and implied in the other, that "the initiative for educational progress in the United States is largely outside of the system." In "A Primer of Public School Progress," issued by the New York Association, it is stated that "the history of the Public Education Association of Philadelphia, since its organization, is the history of school progress in Philadelphia." "A Generation of Progress in our Public Schools," issued by the Philadelphia association, seems to substantiate this assertion.

The latter pamphlet is devoted to the development of public education in Philadelphia. It "is put forth neither as a complete history of the association, nor as a chronicle of all of the developments of the public schools of Philadelphia. If, however, it does give some side-lights on the progress of public education in this city, and if through setting forth the results gained by co-operative effort of public-spirited citizens it shall encourage others to like service, it will have fulfilled its purpose."

"Three great results" are pointed to as "the focal points of constructive effort which have marked the epochs of school progress for the city of Penn. The creation of a department of superintendence . . . was the first great constructive movement in which the public education association took part." Philadelphia is given the distinction of being "the first among the large cities to initiate, and one of the last permanently to adopt, a system of expert supervision of her public schools." The second great step culminated in legislation in 1905 which reduced the central board of public education from forty-two to twenty-one in number and centralized responsibility by reducing the power of the local or ward school boards. The third progressive movement resulted in the new school code of 1911 which, among other things, gave to the board of education of Philadelphia power to levy taxes and borrow money; fixed a minimum tax limit of five mills; still further reduced the board of education of Philadelphia from twenty-one to fifteen members; established a state board of education and a state school fund; provided for a reduction of the membership of boards of education throughout the state; made more reasonable provision for the selection of text books; and included provision for higher education throughout the state.

The progress of the Philadelphia schools, both in general and in detail, is an epitome of the progress of education throughout the United States—in some places taking place more rapidly, in others more slowly.

Among the details of advance discussed in "A Generation of Progress in our Public Schools" are the development of a highly effective bureau of compulsory education; the introduction of a system of medical inspection; more adequate provision for backward children; the installation of industrial training and training in household economy; the establishment of playgrounds, school gardens and vacation schools; the use of school buildings as community centers; the installation of school lunches; and the reorganization of high schools. In some of these lines of progress the Philadelphia schools have taken an advanced position, as in the organization and administration of its bureau of compulsory education. The point of emphasis, however, is the part that citizen co-operation and initiative, largely through the medium of the public education association, had in this record of educational advance.

"A Primer of Public School Progress," while including a summary of the history and work of the New York Association, is somewhat broader in scope than "A Generation of Progress in our Public Schools," since it constitutes an historical statement of the origins of important school activities throughout the United States. Its aim is to show how educational progress is the result of the "citizen and the educator working together." It consists of a series of questions and answers, of which the following are an illustration:

"When were public schools first established?"

"About 1636 in Boston; about 1638 in New York."

"How?"

"Through concerted action and support of public-spirited citizens."

"When was compulsory attendance at school first enforced?"

"In 1852 in Massachusetts."

"How?"

"Through voluntary movements for the physical, moral and intellectual welfare of children in co-operation with educational authorities."

"When was permanent registration of school children first provided for?"

"In 1908 in New York state."

"How?"

"By a number of organizations interested in the enforcement of compulsory education and child-labor laws, acting in co-operation with the school officials."

"When was the first high school established?"

"In 1821 in Boston."

"How?"

"Through the efforts and support of public-spirited citizens."

Each of these questions and answers is followed by a brief explanatory and his-

torical statement taken from authoritative sources, showing how the various activities of the public schools had their inception.

The activities included in the primer, in addition to those already indicated, are the normal schools, kindergartens, evening schools, trade schools, vacation schools, playgrounds, school gardens, music, drawing, manual training, household arts, physical training, medical inspection, school nurses, classes for blind, crippled, tubercular, and mentally defective children, visiting teachers, and school lunches.

Part 2 of the primer is a brief summary of the aims and activities of the New York association.

ARTHUR WILLIAM DUNN.

Washington, D. C.

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THE HISTORY OF THE DWELLING-HOUSE AND ITS FUTURE. By Robert Ellis Thompson. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.00.

The things we live with—or in—we too often see with unseeing eyes. Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson in his little book "The history of the dwelling-house and its future," opens our eyes to the significance of many features in our dwellings about which before we had been too ignorant to be even curious. Dr. Thompson is a Philadelphian and a bookman—if one may judge from circumstantial evidence. He assumes the single family house, only casually does he mention the existence of the multiple dwelling. And in his prophesies he goes abroad to find illustrations, such as the Norwegian kitchen of Paris and a similar contrivance used in Germany, when the fireless cooker of America would have served his purpose quite as well. So, too, in advocating playgrounds he describes what London has done when Chicago would have served his purpose even better.

It is only a bookman or a scholar who could have given us the delightful and informing chapters at the beginning of his book which deal with the history of the dwelling, show how its form and arrangements have been the results of social conditions, how improvements have come slowly as man advanced in knowledge and in social order. In this he has made a most valuable and interesting contribution to our housing literature.

From a practical housing worker's viewpoint, however, there are two serious omissions in these chapters, they contain scarcely a mention of the household water supply and the methods of disposing of human waste. A reader might believe that the pestilences of the middle ages were due entirely to the filthy rushes mixed with the decaying scraps of food that carpeted our ancestral dining halls. These are not delicate subjects, but we have learned through bitter experience that they cannot be ignored.

In his later chapters, dealing with the future of the dwelling, Dr. Thompson strikes another note. About the past we may be willing to take his word, about the future each has his own opinion. From Moore's "Utopia" to Bellamy's "Looking Backward" we have been stimulated by such prophesy as much to disputation as to agreement. One could wish that Dr. Thompson had introduced his prophesy as he did his history by emphasizing "the importance of the child," and consider the house of the future primarily from this point of view. Yet we must admit that the house he pictures is not one where children have no place. In fact his proposed re-organization of family life is based upon a desire to give the mother more time to devote to her children—and their father.

JOHN IHLDER.

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LECTURES ON HOUSING. THE WARBURTON LECTURES FOR 1914. By B. Seebohm Rowntree and A. C. Pigou. Manchester: The University Press. 50 cents.

The two Warburton lectures for 1914 given by B. Seebohm Rowntree and A. C. Pigou, have been published in this little volume. The first lecture bears the long title, "How far is it possible to provide satisfactory houses for the working classes

at rents which they can afford to pay?" The second bears the briefer but less definite caption, "Some aspects of the housing problem."

Mr. Rowntree finds it difficult, if not quite impossible, to answer the long question he has asked himself. Apparently he thinks it very far from possible, so he tells why an inadequate number of such houses are now erected in England and proposes several plans which he believes will increase the number. Among them is the proposal that land shall be assessed upon its capital value instead of upon the income it produces. This proposal will not strike Americans with the shock of something new. Perhaps the gist of his argument, however, may be found in the sentence, "He (the working man) wants and needs it (a good house), but he can not pay a price which will secure it." And again, "We must not only cheapen housing and decasualize labor, but we must raise wages, and then we can definitely compel the municipalities to carry out the law which says, 'Every house in this locality shall be reasonably fit for habitation.'"

Mr. Pigou starts with the assumption that "it is the duty of a civilized state to lay down certain minimum conditions in every department of life, below which it refuses to allow any of its free citizens to fall." How it is to keep certain of its free citizens up to these minimum conditions is the problem. In discussing it he proposes three methods: 1st, that followed with such success by Miss Octavia Hill, who as agent of the landlord used her influence and her opportunities to make the poor tenants help themselves; 2nd, prohibition by the state of the sale of commodities unfit for human consumption, in the case of houses if the landlord does not make or keep his commodity reasonably habitable, the state shall close or demolish it. These two methods are, he says, "in their place, valuable means of improvement." But neither of them will cure poverty. So he comes up against the same problem that puzzled Mr. Rowntree. He finds another solution, however. Instead of cheapening houses by various means and giving the workman a larger and steadier income, he proposes that the state shall build houses for less than an economic return. But it would seem that he is not *quite* sure of the wisdom of this proposal though he compares it to that of state supported schools. "The fundamental question as to the wisdom or otherwise of *properly arranged* (the italics are Mr. Pigou's) subsidies upon the housing accommodation offered to the poor still remains to be faced." In facing it he says the question is whether such state assistance can be so arranged as to avoid directly tempting the workers into idleness. He inclines to think it can and his last words are, "I am convinced that carefully drawn schemes of state assistance toward the housing of the poor ought not to be condemned, out of hand, upon grounds of principle. They deserve, if not support, at least sympathetic consideration." After his firm statements in support of his first two proposals such mild advocacy of the third, even when introduced by a strong word like "convinced," will surely turn away the wrath of the most ardent individualist.

Incidentally Mr. Pigou makes a statement of fact that is of interest to American housing workers who have been much impressed by the low rents in the London County council tenements, which, they have been told, pay an economic return upon the investment. "Perceiving that the high cost of land in the center of London made the rents at which workmen's dwellings could be let there abnormally high, the county council built houses there, wrote off the difference between the commercial value and the value for working-class dwellings of the sites, and offered the houses for hire on terms which involved, in effect, the payment of a heavy subsidy from the rate-payers to their tenants."

JOHN IHLDER.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF TOWNS AND CITIES. By Charles Mulford Robinson. 313 pages. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.25 net. Fourth Revised Edition.

To those interested in civic advance, a portion of the preface to this fourth edition of Mr. Robinson's standard work will be cheering. Writing of the great changes that have occurred in the twelve years since the first edition of his book was published, Mr. Robinson says:

On page after page it has been necessary to amplify data and to recast the statements relating to conditions so that an expression of hope or expectation might be changed into a chronicle of facts, that what were described as experiments might be transformed into a record of achieved successes, and that isolated instances should be shown as now significant of a trend or to have become already typical. although the book was written with much confidence in the awakening of a popular wish for city and town improvement, it was not realized that in a dozen years so much progress would have been made.

As already stated, Mr. Robinson's book is a standard of American practice in town and city improvement. It touches upon the site and the street plan as well as the elementary construction of cities, and as well deals with the familiar but too often unsolved problems of careless community life. It is especially strong in its references to the aesthetic relations of the city, and in its comparisons of American and European conditions.

Indeed, if one might venture to express a wish, it would be that Mr. Robinson in 1913 had seen and reported more of America and less of Europe in this presumed revision of his book. It is true that we may and need to draw many lessons of value from the great and old communities of England, France, Germany and Italy; but it is also true that there have been things done in civic betterment within the last dozen years in the United States which are without parallel abroad, and which might well have been mentioned or more particularly set forth in this book. Mr. Robinson has not noted certain facts, for instance, in the advance of street lighting, in state laws controlling shade trees, and in definite instances of improvement achievement, which are most valuable, encouraging and useful.

Nor does the term "revision" seem fully justified for this edition. For instance, the spoliation of Niagara Falls for private power advantage is virtually commended as of 1901, though the title page reads 1913, and the casual reader might claim that Mr. Robinson approves of the scenic outrage now existing there! The National Municipal League, certainly a force in civic advance, has escaped mention, and only a footnote reference to an addenda saves the reference to two societies extinct for ten years from seeming active to-day. The trammels of old electrotype plates have evidently interfered with that completeness and timeliness which one expects of an authority so well informed as Mr. Robinson.

Yet, as a whole, this "revised" edition is a book indispensable to the student of or the worker in civic advance. It touches so many points so well and so clearly that it is sure to continue and to enlarge the effective usefulness that has always been its characteristic.

J. Horace McFarland.

❦

Modern City Planning and Maintenance. By Frank Koester. 329 pages royal octavo, with numerous engravings and diagrams. New York: McBride, Nast & Co. $6.

The author, in his introduction, gives as his purpose "to present, in a concise and comprehensive form, the principles of the art of city planning as they have developed in modern times." This, he observes, "has not before been attempted," and he expresses the belief that "nowhere else is to be found the summarization of principles and practice as here presented."

That the reader may not be unconscious of the importance of this work, Mr. Koester says as well that "this volume treats of numerous important factors in city planning and maintenance not yet introduced in this country, but which have stood the test of time and of practice abroad, and which are certain to be adopted here sooner or later."

Among these "important factors" he mentions the zone system, "a new system communal industry to supplant the trusts," as well as new systems of street

illumination, of police and fire signalling, and of the use of waste exhaust steam. He promises also to tell of "new methods of raising municipal revenues and dividend payments to citizens instead of tax collections."

It will be admitted that this is "rather a large order," and that Mr. Koester's modesty is not the distinguishing character of his ambitious work. He has undoubtedly gathered in this one good-looking volume a great mass of city-planning and city-maintenance material, very largely from abroad, and quite frankly from the standpoint of German efficiency. Indeed, he asserts that modern city planning "is of purely German origin." He sees in London "the greatest spot of confusion today on the face of the globe," and in Washington "admittedly the most beautiful city in America." This latter accident, however, is because "L'Enfant, who planned Washington . . . enjoyed the double good fortune of having . . . support . . . and an unencumbered site upon which to build." Further on, he disapproves of the plan of Washington. He has either not known or has overlooked the fact that George Washington, and not Major L'Enfant, was really responsible for the plan of the federal city, and that it long antedated either the admired and somewhat imitative Haussmann revision of Paris or the first thought of orderly planning in any "modern" German city.

As a gathering of valuable data and pictures relating to city making and city maintenance, the book is both desirable and important. Its conclusions and somewhat naïve suggestions are less valuable, mostly because they are not at all from an American standpoint. In his twelve years of American residence Mr. Koester has not come to realize, seemingly, the vital difference in point of view, in character of domination, in units of citizenship which differentiate Germany and the United States. Neither he, nor any number of very properly admiring visitors to the orderly and clean cities of Europe, can make over the communities of the United States into similar appearance. It is more the part of wisdom, it might be urged, to see and to consider all that is good anywhere in city making and keeping, and then to adapt and to originate according to our abilities, our opportunities and our needs, rather than to imitate slavishly.

In many of his rather didactic directions (the word "should" is somewhat overworked), Mr. Koester runs counter to thoughtful and successful American practice. For example, he commends among "trees which are useful for city purposes," presumably for street planting, "evergreen pines and cedar," which must be a joke! And he insists that in street lighting "the best results are obtained with arc lamps placed from thirty to sixty feet in height," telling us that "very few American streets would pass muster as to illumination in Germany," while he proceeds to say that "could a city be lit by a single lamp the result would be the most nearly ideal obtainable." This seems quite interesting, just as the very able electrical engineer of Washington, Mr. Allen, has succeeded in giving to that city superb and decorative illumination at low cost by doing exactly what Mr. Koester deprecates!

It seems evident that as a manual for American operating practice Mr. Koester's book would not be a safe guide, while as a comprehensive gathering of European city conditions and methods it is excellent and useful. The publisher has done his part well, for the book is sumptuous in appearance and in illustration.

The really great book on city planning and city working in America is not yet written.

J. Horace McFarland.

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The Amazing Argentine. By John Foster Frazer. New York: Funk Wagnalls Co., 1914.

A portion of this book is taken up with personal observations on characteristics of the country and people which differ but little from the general impression already held by readers of other books on the subject. A portion of the work is

taken up with statistical information that is available, in government publications, to any interested person without going to the Argentine. In other words there is hardly enough originality in the work to justify its addition to the literature on South America, and the style itself is somewhat disappointing coming as it does from a professional travel writer.

There are some inaccuracies and misstatements in the book; there is a little too much exaltation of the part played by Great Britain, and the whole presentation seems to lack thought and coordination. For readers of the National Municipal Review and others interested in governmental questions there is disappointingly little about the governmental arrangements, and what there is lacks interest. Yet much could be said about the aristocratic republic of South America that would illustrate how far the practice of government may differ from its theory.

However, the book is not without interest and for the reader who knows nothing of this promising country it will serve very well as an introduction to the subject.

Herman G. James.

Clean Water and How to get It. By Allen Hazen. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. New York: John Wiley & Sons. Cloth; 6 x 8 in.; pp. 196; illustrated. $3.

Those who wish practical and readable information on how to get clean and safe city water-supplies will find it if they will consult this book. To use the author's own words, the book "deals with the means used by American cities to secure clean water." The subject is treated concretely by describing various existing works "to illustrate principles."

Water-supplies derived from impounding reservoirs, small lakes, the Great Lakes, rivers, and from springs and wells are taken up in the order named. The action of water on pipes and the effect of that action on the quality of the water is next discussed, after which a new chapter, on "red-water troubles," has been inserted. This clears the way for a number of chapters on water purification, including a new chapter on water disinfection. Chapters on water pressure and on the use, waste and measurement of water follow.

Of course the author believes in selling water by water measurement, both to prevent waste and as the only just and equitable method of distributing the cost of service.

A few pages are devoted to financial aspects of water-supplies, chiefly as regards costs and water-rates. Here a very interesting statement showing the relative cheapness of the water service is made. "In my own household in New York," the author says, "taking the cost of Croton water at $1, the average cost of other household supplies is as follows: Ice, $3; light $4; telephone, $5; coal, $13; milk, $15. Further on, the low cost of so vital a service is used as an argument for making public water-supplies "substantially equal in hygienic quality and in physical appearance and attractiveness to the best spring water."

The book closes with some forcible remarks on the importance of properly laying out a water-works plant and with some sound reflections on the financial management of municipally-owned water-works. The author urges that the latter should be on exactly the same basis as for works under private ownership, except that for public works the aim should be to make the earnings no more than "a fair rate of interest on the capital invested" and that these earnings should all go either to improve the works or to provide "libraries and hospitals and parks, or any other public works not of a productive nature." All water should be sold as nearly as may be at cost (*i. e.* operating expenses plus a reasonable interest on the whole investment). Following such business principles will make water-works under municipal ownership "splendid, safe revenue-producing properties," which "will be doubly gratifying when they supply clean water."

For the benefit of the general reader it may be stated that Mr. Hazen is one of the foremost water-works engineers of the country. As a matter of interest it may be added that the book bears this unique dedication: "To the Brisbane board of water-works in whose service was made the voyage on which these pages were written." The book may be heartily commended to laymen and students alike who wish to inform themselves regarding the principles upon which depend the getting of clean public water-supplies.

M. N. Baker.

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Cyclopaedia of American Government. Edited by Andrew C. McLaughlin and Albert Bushnell Hart. Three volumes. New York and London: D. Appleton & Co. 1914.

The first two volumes of this elaborate work have appeared and justify the expectations that preliminary announcements have aroused. The editors have done their work admirably so far as inclusiveness is concerned and generally so far as the working out of the details, although it is to be regretted that there has not been more uniformity in the matter of authorship. In other words, the services of too many authors have been called upon to treat of a single subject. This has a certain value in affording information as to the various points of view, but it militates against continuity and thoroughness of treatment. To illustrate, the subject of civil service reform is treated by Elliot H. Goodwin, formerly secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League and by Professor Jesse Macy. The value of the articles would be much enhanced if either Mr. Goodwin or Professor Macy had contributed all that relates to this subject. There would have been a completer and more effective treatment and fewer breaks. In other words, the general topics seem to be treated under entirely too many heads.

Subject to this general statement which relates to the matter of treatment rather than to the subject matter, the work both of the editors and of the contributors seems, so far as a preliminary examination of the two volumes is concerned, to be very well done. Certainly the book will prove to be a most useful one primarily to the reader and student who wishes to have at hand concise information concerning matters relating to American government in all of its several branches and to the student who wants quick reference to the general field in which he is interested.

The list of contributors is a remarkable one and reflects not only the wide sympathies and connections of the editors, but their capacity to command co-operative service. The views expressed are those of the contributors, the editors being responsible for the general accuracy of the statements and the proportions of the articles. Certainly the hope which the editors express in their introductory note that the volumes may prove "a friendly informant and guide for students, investigators and public men" has been abundantly justified.

On the appearance of the third volume we hope to have a more critical notice of those portions of the book dealing with municipal government.

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The Mechanics of Law-Making. By Courtney Ilbert, G. C. B. Pages viii & 209. New York: Columbia University Press. 1914.

In this little volume, comprising the Carpentier lectures delivered at Columbia University in the autumn of 1913, Sir Courtney Ilbert has put into condensed form much that is covered with greater elaboration in his standard treatise on "Legislative Forms and Methods" published in 1901. For the busy reader the work supplies in brief form an admirable discussion of the reforms in the methods and practices of law-making by the British parliament with some comparative reference to the conditions under which statutes are drafted and enacted by American legislatures. In the United States, because of the enormous number of statutes which determine the organization and operation of municipal governments, the

matter of legislative methods and practices in general bears a very important though indirect relation to the problems of city government. Students of municipal government will be interested in the fact that the author of this little book elected to describe, as illustrating his own experiences as a parliamentary draftsman, the manner in which the municipal corporations act of 1882 and the local government act of 1888 were drafted (pp. 19–23). Surely in this concise account of the labor and care that were expended in the preparation of these famous acts there is a lesson of some import for the legislative architects of American municipal fortunes.

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City of London Year Book. 1914. London: W. H. & L. Collinridge, 148, Aldersgate. 5 s. net.

This is a combined year book and civic directory, and as such furnishes an abundance of carefully selected information about the complicated machinery of London's government and life. Through delaying the publication until the close of the first quarter, the latest data are embodied. The municipal section is most comprehensive. It contains complete lists of the members of the corporation and London county council, and articles detailing the past year's work of those two bodies. Further information concerns the several other rating authorities of the city and metropolis. The city guilds' section not only sets forth the membership of each company, but details the history, and shows the present-day activities as regards trade association, educational work, and charitable endeavors. A new feature is a complete list of the members of the Guild of freemen. Particulars of city schools, with details as to fees and scholarships; and a list of city churches, with the names of the incumbents and curates, are also given.

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The Conquest of the Tropics. By Frederick Upham Adams. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page & Co.

This, the first volume in a series on "The Romance of Big Business," has an interest to readers of the National Municipal Review because of its intimate relation to the food supply and because it shows how far-reaching are the efforts to supply the cities with necessary sustenance and variety. It is likewise interesting as a stirring and friendly history of the upbuilding of a great corporation—the United Fruit Company, which has a close and important relationship with so many of the ports of our country.

⚜

American Citizenship. Charles A. and Mary Beard. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.00.

The headings of the three parts of this really interesting text book on civics shows both its contents and its spirit:—

Part I. Human needs and the government; Part II. The machinery of government-officers, elections, and parties; Part III. The work of government.

Part I describes modern government and deals with the family, civil liberty, property rights, and political liberty. Part II is more technical, treating of the national, state and city governments, and what is rather rare in such books, the government of country districts. Part III considers rural surveys, public service commissions, community centers, education of adults, vocational guidance, medical inspection, playgrounds, "clean-up week" and similar subjects. The last chapter is on the government and public opinion.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Municipal Life and Government in Germany. By William Harbutt Dawson. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

Municipal Efficiency. Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference of Mayors and Other City Officials, State of New York. 1914. $1.00.

MARKETS FOR THE PEOPLE: THE CONSUMERS' PART. By J. W. Sullivan. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.25.

REPORT OF THE POLICE PENSION FUND OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. 1913. Submitted to the Aldermanic Committee on Police Investigation by the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York.

THE COLLECTIVIST STATE IN THE MAKING. By Emil Davies. London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd. 5 shillings.

JUVENILE COURTS AND PROBATION. By Bernard Flexner and Roger N. Baldwin. New York: The Century Co.

HEALTH WORK IN THE SCHOOLS. By Ernest Bryant Hoag, M. D., and Lewis M. Terman. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. $1.60.

A GUIDE AND INDEX TO PLAYS, FESTIVALS AND MASQUES. For Use in Schools, Clubs and Neighborhood Centers. Compiled by the Arts and Festivals Committee of the Association of Neighborhood Workers. New York: Harper & Brothers.

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